JULY 1, 2013

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TIME

HOW SERVICE CAN SAVE US

VETERANS ARE PITCHING IN BACK HOME AND HELPING THEMSELVES TOO

BY JOE KLEIN

OUR ANNUAL NATIONAL SERVICE ISSUE

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NOW'S THE TIME TO HELP PROTECT YOURSELF WITH THE SHINGLES VACCINE

NO MATTER HOW HEALTHY YOU FEEL, SHINGLES COULD STILL HAPPEN TO YOU.

ZOSTAVAX®

Zoster Vaccine Live

Actual clinical rash image

Shingles is caused by the same virus that causes chickenpox. The virus stays in your body and can resurface at any time as Shingles — a painful, blistering rash. And no matter how healthy you feel, your risk increases as you get older.

The sooner you get vaccinated with ZOSTAVAX, the better your chances of protecting yourself from Shingles. In fact, the ACIP* of the CDC (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention) recommends that appropriate adults 60 years of age and older get vaccinated to help prevent Shingles.

*ACIP=Advisory Committee on Immunization Practices

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Talk to your health care professional to see if ZOSTAVAX® (Zoster Vaccine Live) is right for you.

ZOSTAVAX is given as a single shot. ZOSTAVAX cannot be used to treat Shingles, or the nerve pain that may follow Shingles, once you have it. For more information, visit ZOSTAVAX.com or call 1-877-9 SHINGLES.

ABOUT *ZOSTAVAX*

ZOSTAVAX is a vaccine that is used for adults 50 years of age or older to prevent Shingles (also known as zoster).

IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION

ZOSTAVAX does not protect everyone, so some people who get the vaccine may still get Shingles.

You should not get ZOSTAVAX if you are allergic to any of its ingredients, including gelatin or neomycin, have a weakened immune system, take high doses of steroids, or are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. You should not get ZOSTAVAX to prevent chickenpox.

Talk to your health care professional if you plan to get ZOSTAVAX at the same time as PNEUMOVAX®23 (Pneumococcal Vaccine Polyvalent) because it may be better to get these vaccines at least 4 weeks apart.

Possible side effects include redness, pain, itching, swelling, hard lump, warmth or bruising at the injection site, as well as headache.

ZOSTAVAX contains a weakened chickenpox virus. Tell your health care professional if you will be in close contact with newborn infants, someone who may be pregnant and has not had chickenpox or been vaccinated against chickenpox, or someone who has problems with their immune system. Your health care professional can tell you what situations you may need to avoid.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Please read the Patient Information on the adjacent page for more detailed information.

BEFORE YOU GET SHINGLES, GET VACCINATED.

MERCK

Patient Information about ZOSTAVAX® (pronounced "ZOS tah vax") Generic name: Zoster Vaccine Live

You should read this summary of information about ZOSTAVAX before you are vaccinated. If you have any questions about ZOSTAVAX after reading this page, you should ask your health care provider. This information does not take the place of talking about ZOSTAVAX with your doctor, nurse, or other health care provider. Only your health care provider can decide if ZOSTAVAX is right for you.

What is ZOSTAVAX and how does it work?

ZOSTAVAX is a vaccine that is used for adults 50 years of age or older to prevent shingles (also known as zoster).

ZOSTAVAX contains a weakened chickenpox virus (varicella-zoster virus).

ZOSTAVAX works by helping your immune system protect you from getting shingles.

If you do get shingles even though you have been vaccinated, ZOSTAVAX may help prevent the nerve pain that can follow shingles in some people. ZOSTAVAX does not protect everyone, so some people who get the vaccine may still get shingles.

ZOSTAVAX cannot be used to treat shingles, or the nerve pain that may follow shingles, once you have it.

What do I need to know about shingles and the virus that causes it?

Shingles is caused by the same virus that causes chickenpox. Once you have had chickenpox, the virus can stay in your nervous system for many years. For reasons that are not fully understood, the virus may become active again and give you shingles. Age and problems with the immune system may increase your chances of getting shingles.

Shingles is a rash that is usually on one side of the body. The rash begins as a cluster of small red spots that often blister. The rash can be painful. Shingles rashes usually last up to 30 days and, for most people, the pain associated with the rash lessens as it heals.

Who should not get ZOSTAVAX?

You should not get ZOSTAVAX if you:

- are allergic to any of its ingredients.
- are allergic to gelatin or neomycin.
- have a weakened immune system (for example, an immune deficiency, leukemia, lymphoma, or HIV/AIDS).
- take high doses of steroids by injection or by mouth.
- are pregnant or plan to get pregnant.

You should not get ZOSTAVAX to prevent chickenpox.

Children should not get ZOSTAVAX.

How is ZOSTAVAX given?

ZOSTAVAX is given as a single dose by injection under the skin.

What should I tell my health care provider before I get ZOSTAVAX?

You should tell your health care provider if you:

- have or have had any medical problems.
- take any medicines, including non-prescription medicines, and dietary supplements.
- have any allergies, including allergies to neomycin or gelatin.
- had an allergic reaction to another vaccine.
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant.
- are breast-feeding.

Tell your health care provider if you expect to be in close contact (including household contact) with newborn infants, someone who may be pregnant and has not had chickenpox or been vaccinated against chickenpox, or someone who has problems with their immune system. Your health care provider can tell you what situations you may need to avoid.

Can I get ZOSTAVAX with other vaccines?

Talk to your health care provider if you plan to get ZOSTAVAX at the same time as the flu vaccine.

Talk to your health care provider if you plan to get ZOSTAVAX at the same time as PNEUMOVAX®23 (Pneumococcal Vaccine Polyvalent) because it may be better to get these vaccines at least 4 weeks apart.

What are the possible side effects of ZOSTAVAX?

The most common side effects that people in the clinical studies reported after receiving the vaccine include:

- redness, pain, itching, swelling, hard lump, warmth, or bruising where the shot was given.
- headache

The following additional side effects have been reported with ZOSTAVAX:

- allergic reactions, which may be serious and may include difficulty in breathing or swallowing. If you have an allergic reaction, call your doctor right away.
- chickenpox
- fever
- hives at the injection site
- joint pain
- muscle pain
- nausea
- rash
- rash at the injection site
- swollen glands near the injection site (that may last a few days to a few weeks)

Tell your health care provider if you have any new or unusual symptoms after you receive ZOSTAVAX. For a complete list of side effects, ask your health care provider.

Call 1-800-986-8999 to report any exposure to ZOSTAVAX during pregnancy.

What are the ingredients of ZOSTAVAX?

Active Ingredient: a weakened form of the varicella-zoster virus.

Inactive Ingredients: sucrose, hydrolyzed porcine gelatin, sodium chloride, monosodium L-glutamate, sodium phosphate dibasic, potassium phosphate monobasic, potassium chloride.

This page summarizes important information about ZOSTAVAX. If you would like more information, talk to your health care provider or visit the website at www.ZOSTAVAX.com or call 1-800-622-4477.

Rx only

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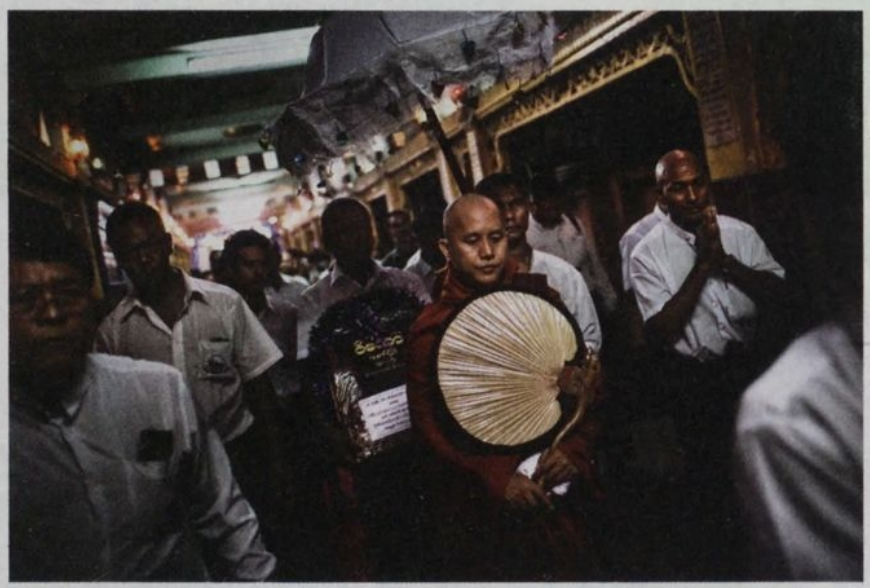

A firebrand monk named Wirathu, center, is the leader of a movement of militant Buddhists in Burma. Photograph by Adam Dean—Panos for TIME

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Editor's Desk

Marine Corps veteran Terry Roberts joined Team Rubicon in the wake of the tornado that ravaged Moore, Okla.

Service Is a Silver Bullet

SIX SUMMERS AGO, WE PUBlished a cover story called "The Case for National Service," in which I proposed that every American high school student do a year of service after graduation. While there have been gains over the past six years—such as a new focus on addressing the high school–dropout epidemic through service and the establishment of a social-innovation fund to scale programs that work—the idea of national service has moseyed along without much progress. Until now.

This summer, TIME, in collaboration with the Aspen Institute's Franklin Project and its chairman, General Stanley McChrystal, is convening a 21st Century National Service Summit in Aspen, Colo. (http://aspeninstitute.org/franklin).

The plan of action represents a powerful evolution of that earlier vision, with a better balance between military and civilian service. The movement is headed by the nation's former top commander in Afghanistan and endorsed by a stellar group that includes two former Secretaries of State, Condoleezza Rice and Madeleine Albright. The plan calls for universal national service for every 18- to 28-year-old and proposes that we open up the GI Bill to support returning veterans who want to do a year of civilian service in organizations like Team Rubicon, Habitat for Humanity and the Mission Continues, the last of which is the subject of Joe Klein's powerful cover story in this issue.

In this multifaceted plan, every young American has the option of serving in one of five branches of the military or one of a number of civilian national-service corps, bringing together young adults from different backgrounds and places to address challenges in education, conservation, health, poverty and reintegration of veterans back home. The plan envisions young professionals—lawyers, health care professionals and people in business—using their skills to help those in need. The initial goal is to create positions for 1 million full-time civilian national-service workers—nearly equal to the number of Americans who serve on active duty in our armed forces every year. The plan calls on colleges and universities, nonprofits, faith-based groups and social enterprises to become certified as national-service organizations and to offer full-time service positions. Citizens could support these efforts by crowdfunding, a Kickstarter for national service.

In addition to the existing Peace Corps and Corporation for National and Community Service, which oversees AmeriCorps, VISTA and Senior Corps, other parts of the government are starting service projects as an efficient and low-cost solution to big problems. FEMA is planning to save $60 million by using full-time national-service participants in disaster preparedness and response. Education Secretary Arne Duncan launched the School Turnaround AmeriCorps. Other departments and agencies could follow suit. A poll of registered voters supported by Target shows that 80% support voluntary national service that offers a living allowance and education award.

I believe service can help us deal with a multitude of national problems, from unemployment to education to adapting immigrants to American society. And it can and will foster a generation of leaders who can work together to get big things done for our country.

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR

A HISTORY OF SERVICE

Since 2007, TIME has called for enhanced national service, exploring the ways in which new programs could solve many of the social and economic problems that Americans face

Sept. 10, 2007

Sept. 22, 2008

Sept. 21, 2009

Sept. 20, 2010

ROBERTS: ERIC THAYER FOR TIME; STENGEL: MARTIN SCHOELLER

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Conversation

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The PUBLIC needs to decide whether these programs and policies are right or wrong

Secret Sharers A close look at privacy, surveillance and hacktivism

"AMERICANS REALLY ARE A BIT SCHIZOphrenic when it comes to this," observed **Joe Scarborough** of MSNBC as he discussed TIME's recent poll on privacy and surveillance. Accompanying **Michael Scherer**'s June 24 cover story about the influence of hacker culture on a new generation of government leakers, the poll found that public opinion is split on whether the government should be able to collect private communications to prevent terrorist attacks. **Bob Schieffer** of CBS's *Face the Nation* called the story a "fascinating" look at the issue. Some readers questioned whether the late Aaron Swartz, a computer programmer who faced charges for downloading academic papers, should have been grouped with people who revealed classified information. Stanford University political-science professor **Rob Reich** called Swartz's inclusion "preposterous."

@TarenSK (Swartz's girlfriend)
I honestly don't know what #AaronSwartz would've thought abt being on front cover of Time w/ Manning & Snowden. Proud? Embarrassed? Bemused?

IRAN'S SURPRISING ELECTION

In 2006 an Iranian politician named Hassan Rouhani wrote to TIME asserting his view that "a nuclear-weaponized Iran destabilizes the region." That comment gained new attention after June 14, when Rouhani, a former representative of Iran's Supreme Leader Ayatullah Ali Khamenei and lead nuclear negotiator, was elected President in a surprise victory for reformers. TIME managing editor Rick Stengel and Middle East bureau chief Aryn Baker spent several days in Iran covering the election and its significance, and their story appears in this issue.

ROUHANI: AHMAD HALABISAZ—XINHUA/ZUMA PRESS; BUDDHISTS: ADAM DEAN—PANOS FOR TIME; KIRIBATI: GOOGLE

Radical Buddhism

LIGHTBOX Buddhism is known as a religion that values compassion above all. But in Burma, Thailand and Sri Lanka, militant Buddhist groups have been inciting violence against Muslims and other minorities, TIME's Hannah Beech reports in this issue. Our LightBox blog features an extended photo essay by photographer Adam Dean that accompanies the story. In this image, monks from the Lak Muang Temple in southern Thailand collect alms while soldiers provide security.

TIME INTERACTIVE

In May, TIME unveiled three decades' worth of satellite imagery of the earth's surface through a partnership with Google. We're highlighting remarkable reader finds as part of the next phase of this project. See these on June 24 and share your own using the Explore tool. Pictured above is part of the Pacific nation of Kiribati; time-lapse images show the effects of rising sea levels there. For more, go to time.com/timelapse2.

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IS YOUR CHOLESTEROL AT GOAL?

Ask your doctor about CRESTOR.

In a clinical trial vs Lipitor® (atorvastatin calcium), CRESTOR got more high-risk patients' bad cholesterol to a goal of under 100*

*LDL (bad) cholesterol goal is less than 100 mg/dL in high-risk patients, per Treatment Guidelines

Getting to goal is important, especially if you have HIGH CHOLESTEROL plus any of these risk factors:

- DIABETES
- HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE
- FAMILY HISTORY OF EARLY HEART DISEASE

because you could be at increased risk for plaque buildup in your arteries over time.

When diet and exercise alone aren't enough, CRESTOR is prescribed along with diet in adults to lower high cholesterol and to slow plaque buildup in arteries as part of a treatment plan to lower cholesterol to goal.

Important Safety Information about prescription CRESTOR Tablets. CRESTOR is not right for everyone. Do not take CRESTOR if you are nursing, pregnant or may become pregnant; have liver problems; or have had an allergic reaction to CRESTOR. Your doctor should do blood tests to check your liver before starting treatment and if you have symptoms of liver problems while taking CRESTOR. Call your doctor right away if you have unexplained muscle pain or weakness, especially with fever; have muscle problems that do not go away even after your doctor told you to stop taking CRESTOR; feel unusually tired; or have loss of appetite, upper belly pain, dark urine, or yellowing of skin or eyes. These could be signs of rare but serious side effects. Elevated blood sugar levels have been reported with statins, including CRESTOR. The most common side effects may include headache, muscle aches, abdominal pain, weakness, and nausea. Memory loss and confusion have also been reported with statins, including CRESTOR. Tell your doctor and pharmacist about other medicines you are taking.

If you can't afford your medication, AstraZeneca may be able to help. For more information, please visit www.AstraZeneca-us.com

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.FDA.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Please read Important Product Information on adjacent page and discuss with your doctor.

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AstraZeneca

IMPORTANT INFORMATION ABOUT CRESTOR® (ROSUVASTATIN CALCIUM)

Please read this summary carefully and then ask your health care professional about CRESTOR. No advertisement can provide all the information needed to determine if a drug is right for you. This advertisement does not take the place of careful discussions with your health care professional. Only your health care professional has the training to help weigh the risks and benefits of a prescription drug.

WHAT IS CRESTOR?

CRESTOR is a prescription medicine that belongs to a group of cholesterol-lowering medicines called statins. Along with diet, CRESTOR lowers "bad" cholesterol (LDL-C) and increases "good" cholesterol (HDL-C). If bad cholesterol levels are left untreated, fatty deposits (plaque) can build up in the walls of the blood vessels. This plaque buildup, over time, can lead to narrowing of these vessels. This is one of the most common causes of heart disease. By lowering bad cholesterol in your blood, CRESTOR can slow this plaque buildup in the walls of blood vessels.

CRESTOR has been proven to reduce the risk of heart attacks and strokes in people without known heart disease, but who are at increased risk based on age (men 50 years and older, women 60 years and older), elevated blood levels of hsCRP (a marker of inflammation that can be associated with increased risk of cardiovascular events, such as heart attack and stroke), plus at least one additional risk factor (such as high blood pressure, low HDL "good" cholesterol, smoking, or family history of early heart disease).

WHAT IS CHOLESTEROL?

Cholesterol is a fatty substance, also called a lipid, normally found in your bloodstream. Your body needs a certain amount of cholesterol to function properly. But high cholesterol can lead to health problems. LDL-C is called bad cholesterol because if you have too much in your bloodstream, it can become a danger to your health and can lead to potentially serious conditions. HDL-C is known as good cholesterol because it may help remove excess cholesterol. Common health factors such as diabetes, high blood pressure, smoking, obesity, family history of early heart disease, and age can make controlling your cholesterol even more important.

WHAT IS ATHEROSCLEROSIS?

Atherosclerosis is the progressive buildup of plaque in the arteries over time. One major cause is high levels of LDL-C. Other health factors, such as family history, diabetes, high blood pressure, or if you smoke or are overweight, may also play a role in the formation of plaque in arteries. Often this plaque starts building up in arteries in early adulthood and gets worse over time.

HOW DOES CRESTOR WORK?

Most of the cholesterol in your blood is made in the liver. CRESTOR works by reducing cholesterol in two ways: CRESTOR blocks an enzyme in the liver causing the liver to make less cholesterol, and CRESTOR increases the uptake and breakdown by the liver of cholesterol already in the blood.

WHO SHOULD NOT TAKE CRESTOR?

Do not take CRESTOR if you

- are pregnant or think you may be pregnant, or are planning to become pregnant. CRESTOR may harm your unborn baby. If you become pregnant, stop taking CRESTOR and call your health care professional right away
- are breast-feeding. CRESTOR can pass into your breast milk and may harm your baby
- have liver problems
- have had an allergic reaction to CRESTOR or are allergic to any of its ingredients.

The active ingredient is rosuvastatin calcium. The inactive ingredients are microcrystalline cellulose, lactose monohydrate, tribasic calcium phosphate, crospovidone, magnesium stearate, hypromellose, triacetin, titanium dioxide, yellow ferric oxide, and red ferric oxide

(continued)

The safety and effectiveness of CRESTOR have not been established in children under the age of 10.

HOW SHOULD I TAKE CRESTOR?

- Take CRESTOR exactly as prescribed by your health care professional. Do not change your dose or stop CRESTOR without talking to your health care professional, even if you are feeling well
- Your health care professional may do blood tests to check your cholesterol levels before and during your treatment with CRESTOR. Your dose of CRESTOR may be changed based on these blood test results
- CRESTOR can be taken at any time of day, with or without food
- Swallow the tablets whole
- Your health care professional should start you on a cholesterol-lowering diet before giving you CRESTOR. Stay on this diet when you take CRESTOR
- Wait at least 2 hours after taking CRESTOR to take an antacid that contains a combination of aluminum and magnesium hydroxide
- If you miss a dose of CRESTOR, take it as soon as you remember. However, **do not take 2 doses of CRESTOR within 12 hours of each other**
- If you take too much CRESTOR or overdose, call your health care professional or Poison Control Center right away or go to the nearest emergency room

WHAT SHOULD I TELL MY HEALTH CARE PROFESSIONAL BEFORE TAKING CRESTOR?

Tell your health care professional if you

- have a history of muscle pain or weakness
- are pregnant or think you may be pregnant, or are planning to become pregnant
- are breast-feeding
- drink more than 2 glasses of alcohol daily
- have liver problems
- have kidney problems
- have thyroid problems
- are Asian or of Asian descent

Tell your health care professional about all medicines you take or plan to take, including prescription and non-prescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. Some medicines may interact with CRESTOR, causing side effects. It is particularly important to tell your health care professional if you are taking or plan to take medicines for

- your immune system
- cholesterol/triglycerides
- blood thinning
- HIV/AIDS
- preventing pregnancy

Know all of the medicines you take and what they look like. It's always a good idea to check that you have the right prescription before you leave the pharmacy and before you take any medicine. Keep a list of your medicines with you to show your health care professional.

If you need to go to the hospital or have surgery, tell all of your health care professionals about all medicines that you are taking.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS OF CRESTOR?

CRESTOR can cause side effects in some people.

Serious side effects may include:

Muscle problems. Call your health care professional right away if you experience unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness, especially with fever. This may be an early sign of a rare muscle problem that could lead to serious kidney problems. The risk of muscle problems is greater in people who are 65 years of age or older, or who already have thyroid or kidney problems. The chance of muscle problems may be increased if you are taking certain other medicines with CRESTOR.

If you have muscle problems that do not go away even after your health care professional has advised you to stop taking CRESTOR, notify your health care professional. Your health care professional may do further tests to diagnose the cause of your muscle problems.

Liver problems. Your health care professional should do blood tests to check your liver before you start taking CRESTOR and if you have symptoms of liver problems while you take CRESTOR. Call your doctor right away if you have any of the following symptoms of liver problems

- feel unusually tired or weak
- loss of appetite
- upper belly pain
- dark urine
- yellowing of your skin or the whites of your eyes

Elevated blood sugar levels have been reported with statins, including CRESTOR.

The most common side effects may include headache, muscle aches and pains, abdominal pain, weakness, and nausea. Memory loss and confusion have also been reported with CRESTOR.

This is not a complete list of side effects of CRESTOR. Talk to your health care professional for a complete list or if you have side effects that bother you or that do not go away.

HOW DO I STORE CRESTOR?

Store CRESTOR at room temperature, 68-77°F (20-25°C), in a dry place. If your health care professional tells you to stop treatment or if your medicine is out of date, throw the medicine away. **Keep CRESTOR and all medicines in a secure place and out of the reach of children.**

WHERE CAN I GET MORE INFORMATION ABOUT CRESTOR?

Talk to your health care professional. Full Prescribing Information is available on CRESTOR.COM or by calling 1-800-CRESTOR.

GENERAL INFORMATION

It is important to take CRESTOR as prescribed and to discuss any health changes you experience while taking CRESTOR with your health care professional. Do not use CRESTOR for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give CRESTOR to other people, even if they have the same medical condition you have. It may harm them.
NOTE: This summary provides important information about CRESTOR. For more information, please ask your health care professional about the full Prescribing Information and discuss it with him or her.

Visit **CRESTOR.COM** or call the Information Center at AstraZeneca toll-free at **1-800-CRESTOR.**

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Briefing

'You may even be able to find a date with a girl whose name is not Siri.'

MICHAEL BLOOMBERG, New York City mayor, at Stanford University's commencement, urging graduates to move to New York to pursue tech careers and a social life

Justin Rose
The 32-year-old English golfer won the U.S. Open, his first major championship

GOOD WEEK

BAD WEEK

Tiger Woods
The 37-year-old U.S. golfer shot 13 over par, his worst score ever in a major tournament

27% Increase in child fatalities in Afghanistan in the first third of 2013 over the same period in 2012

'We have not said that we possess chemical weapons, nor have we said that we do not possess them.'

BASHAR ASSAD, Syrian President, on reports that his government crossed a U.S. "red line" by using chemical weapons

5,800%
Jump in Amazon sales of the Centennial Edition of George Orwell's *1984* in the wake of revelations that the NSA collects data on millions of Americans

'Being called a traitor by Dick Cheney is the highest honor you can give an American.'

EDWARD SNOWDEN, former NSA contract worker, in an online public forum where he answered questions about leaking details of surveillance programs to reporters

6.18 mm
Thickness of Huawei's new smartphone, 20% thinner than the iPhone 5

'SHE SHOULDN'T HAVE PUT HERSELF IN THAT POSITION.'

SERENA WILLIAMS, tennis champion, in comments to *Rolling Stone* about the victim in the Steubenville, Ohio, rape case in which two football players were convicted in March; Williams subsequently apologized

'I will not accept a situation where Zimbabweans will yet again be railroaded and frog-marched to another illegitimate and violent election.'

MORGAN TSVANGIRAI, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, on President Robert Mugabe's decision to bypass Parliament and declare an election for July 31

BLOOMBERG: BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES; ASSAD: SANA/REUTERS; WILLIAMS: REUTERS; ROSE: GETTY IMAGES; WOODS: REUTERS; ILLUSTRATION BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME (2)

Sources: TechCrunch; Reuters; the *Guardian* (2); *Rolling Stone*

LightBox

Contraband

Chinese authorities display bear paws on June 15 after 213 were seized from two Russian smugglers in the Chinese region of Inner Mongolia. Some in China consider the paws a delicacy

Photograph by Reuters

FOR PICTURES OF THE WEEK, GO TO **lightbox.time.com**

World

The Taliban Open a Door to Peace. An Angry Karzai Shuts It

BY ARYN BAKER

Right after his re-election in 2009, Afghan President Hamid Karzai famously invited his "Taliban brothers" to the negotiation table. The Taliban called him an "American puppet" and RSVP'd their regrets with a spate of suicide attacks.

It looks like the tables have turned. On June 18, senior members of the Taliban government that ruled Afghanistan before the U.S. invasion in 2001 opened an office in Doha, Qatar. The elaborate ceremony, complete with a ribbon cutting, prayers and the raising of the Taliban flag, was more a triumphant embassy opening than the launch of a negotiation venue, but the Taliban signaled a willingness to receive Afghan officials for preliminary talks on a political settlement.

Karzai wasn't buying any of it and suspended talks with the U.S. to underline his pique. He was furious that the Taliban were seeking international recognition and political legitimacy on par with a government in exile—not exactly the kind of peace partner Karzai had in mind when he first extended that invitation. In Germany, U.S. President Barack Obama noted the upset and the delicate choreography of transition: "We had anticipated at the outset that there were going to be some areas of friction, to put it mildly, in getting this thing off the ground."

It's still a good sign that the Taliban opened a shop to negotiate with the Karzai government. Perhaps the first discussions will concern what the sign on the door should read.

Taliban spokesman Muhammad Naeem at the group's new office in Doha, Qatar

TURKEY

'You are left alone with your lies.'

RECEP TAYYIP ERDOGAN, Turkish Prime Minister, bashing foreign news outlets for a perceived plot to topple his government through their reporting on antigovernment demonstrations that have shaken Turkey for three weeks. In a two-hour speech to supporters gathered near the Sea of Marmara, Erdogan singled out CNN, BBC and Reuters, saying, "For days, you fabricated news." Countless media images of the widespread protests showed otherwise.

DATA

WHERE CHILDREN CAN'T GET AN EDUCATION

According to a UNESCO study, 57 million children lack classroom access. Here are the countries with the most children out of school:

10.5 MILLION
Nigeria

5.4 MILLION
Pakistan

1.7 MILLION
Ethiopia

1.6 MILLION
India

1.4 MILLION
The Philippines

Roundup

Three Takeaways From the G-8

Leaders from eight of the world's wealthiest nations ended a two-day summit in Northern Ireland—a land that negotiated a workable peace after decades of sectarian strife. Predictably, the G-8 members managed few breakthroughs, but here's a look at what the meeting did produce:

1. TAX SHELTERS

The group signed the Lough Erne Declaration, which aims to more forcibly expose the true owners of shadowy companies and combat tax evasion by sharing information. Critics say the language of the agreement doesn't go far enough to confront tax avoidance and that big corporations will continue to exploit loopholes.

2. AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

As in past meetings, the G-8 pledged to promote growth in Africa by enhancing infrastructure, eliminating trade barriers and better managing natural resources. If the G-8 fails to deliver, China will likely take advantage.

3. PUTIN WON'T PLAY

A dour Russian President Vladimir Putin put a noticeable dent in the event by refusing to drop his support of Syrian leader Bashar Assad. But Putin agreed to a loosely worded statement that supports a political solution to end the bloodshed in Syria and made it clear that he would have a role in creating any peace plan.

By Cleo Brock-Abraham and Andrew Katz

The Fight for Aleppo

SYRIA A rebel fighter gazes toward a mirror to monitor forces loyal to Syrian leader Bashar Assad in the strategically crucial northern city of Aleppo on June 18. More than 93,000 people have died in Syria's civil war, now in its third year. As the U.S. prepares to supply arms to carefully vetted opposition groups, Assad's largest ally—Russia—remains both an impediment and a key to the end of the carnage. *Photograph by Muzaffar Salman—Reuters*

ARGENTINA

129 lb.

Average annual per-person beef consumption in Argentina, down from 222 lb. in 1956; Americans eat 57.5 lb.

Explainer

Behind Brazil's Surprising Protests

Small demonstrations against bus-fare hikes have devolved into large-scale, multiclass protests—unusual for Brazil—over a range of grievances. Here's what's driving the discontent

The perils of prosperity

A decade of economic growth moved nearly 40 million people into the middle class, but with that new purchasing power come expectations of better services

Lagging infrastructure

Inefficient public schools, overcrowded hospitals and a substandard water supply have heightened perceptions about corruption and social inequality

An imbalanced economy

Minimum-wage hikes eased some economic tension, but recent slower-than-expected growth, higher inflation and a weakening currency challenge Brazil's recovery

***Futebol* follies**

The cost of renovating or constructing 12 stadiums for next year's World Cup has exceeded $3 billion—more than triple the estimate from Brazil's bid for the event in 2007

Trending In

RELIGION
Pope Francis offered his blessing to thousands of leather-clad bikers on June 16 for Harley-Davidson's 110th anniversary

AVIATION
The **Airbus A350,** a 250-to-350-seat wide-body jet, made its maiden flight in France. The aircraft will compete with Boeing's 787

RESISTANCE

Erdem Gunduz's silent protest in Turkey's Taksim Square on June 17 has inspired nationwide imitations

TERRORISM
Sardar Bahadur Khan Women's University in Pakistan was closed after twin attacks by Lashkar e-Jhangvi militants killed at least 25 people

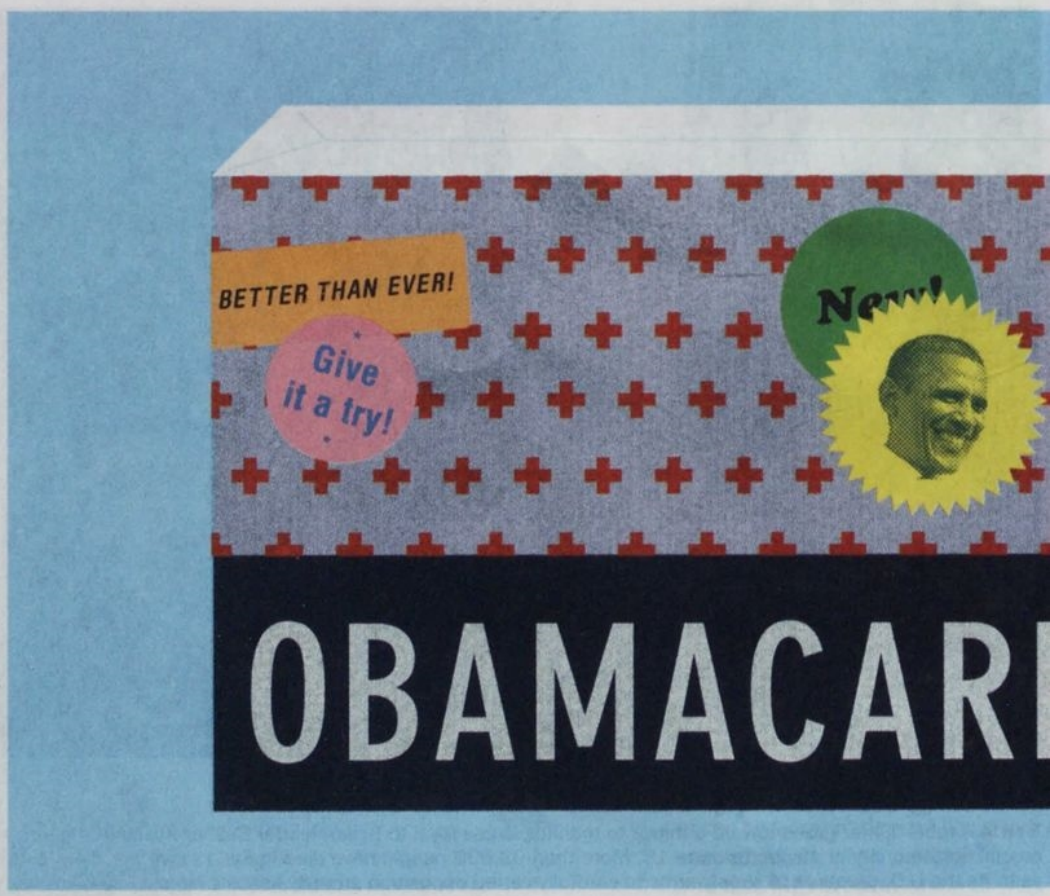
TALIBAN: AP; TURKEY: ABACA; ARGENTINA, OBAMA: GETTY IMAGES (2); CAMERON, MERKEL, PUTIN, RELIGION, AVIATION: AFP/GETTY IMAGES (5); RESISTANCE: REUTERS

Nation

And Now The Selling of Obamacare

Will Americans buy a plan they don't love?

BY ZEKE MILLER



IN A WINDOWLESS OFFICE IN the basement of the West Wing, behind a utility room and next to a fire-alarm panel, David Simas is marking up another whiteboard with blue ink, hoping to explain one more time just how the President's health care reform law will work when the time comes for uninsured Americans to sign up this fall.

The abstraction of Obamacare is about to become reality. But will anyone know what to do? An estimated 7 million Americans will join the first health exchanges from Oct. 1, 2013, to April 1, 2014, and most have no idea what that entails. And for the more than 200 million who are already covered by some early Obamacare benefits, Simas says, "We need to continue to remind them of what they're getting."

If Simas, 42, has the nervous energy of the 2012 campaign, which he served as opinion-research director, there is a good reason. Though Barack Obama has competed in his last election, he has one more campaign ahead of him. This fall, Obamacare will phase into full effect, with the promise of insuring as many as 40 million Americans if it succeeds. But it could fail.

To prevent that, Obamaland is going on offense. Organizing for Action, the grassroots group spun out of the President's campaign, has made selling the already passed bill a top priority, with its first television ad. Enroll America, a nonprofit coalition of community groups and insurers that has been promoted by the White House and is staffed by Obama-campaign alumni, launched its "Get Covered America" campaign to educate uninsured Americans about the exchanges.

At the White House, health care has once again become an obsession. Chief of staff Denis McDonough spends two hours a day on Obamacare implementation, staffers say, and senior aides like Simas and Tara McGuinness, who joined the White House in April as senior communications adviser, work on the issue nearly full time. Hardly a week goes by without Obama's finding some way to plug the effort as well.

The reason: the law is increasingly unpopular. According to an NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* poll released in early June, 49% of Americans believe the law is a bad idea, the highest percentage recorded, with only 37% saying it is a good thing. More than a dozen states have already opted out of key provisions to expand Medicaid. In Washington, Republicans continue to lay siege to the law; in the U.S. House, they have voted 37 times to repeal it.

That unpopularity threatens one of Obamacare's most ambitious goals—establishing health care exchanges allowing uninsured Americans to purchase affordable coverage. To be solvent, the exchanges need roughly 2.7 million healthy 18-to-35-year-olds to sign up. The majority of that group is nonwhite and male, according to Simas' data, and a third are located in three states: California, Texas and Florida. If too few choose to enroll because they don't know about the law, don't like it or feel they don't need insurance, the exchanges will fail. And so will the law.

The Administration has plotted an extensive social-media campaign designed to reach the young and healthy and is soliciting sports teams to help raise awareness. More

GENUINE GI JANES
By 2016, under new Pentagon rules, the Navy may accept female SEALs

than 10 staffers in the Office of Public Engagement are marshaling the help of Latino and African-American groups and community nonprofits. And Simas has spent countless hours surrounded by maps of media markets and demographic data on the uninsured trying to remind prospective enrollees of the benefits available to them: "It's that guy in Dallas, it's the woman in Los Angeles, it's the family in Miami-Dade," he says.

Obama aides have been saying such things for years, with little effect. But now the clock is ticking, and Obama is running out of time to make his signature achievement stick.

OBAMACARE: ILLUSTRATION BY OLIVER MUNDAY FOR TIME; ALEXANDER: EPA; COMPOST, MOORE: GETTY IMAGES; YOGA: ILLUSTRATIONS BY KATE FRANCIS FOR TIME

The Cyberboss Steps Forward

General Keith Alexander used to be anonymous—which is how he liked it. But after recent disclosures about surveillance conducted by the National Security Agency (NSA), which Alexander leads, the mild-mannered intelligence officer stepped forward to argue that fears of an Orwellian surveillance state are wildly inflated and that the NSA keeps Americans safe. The public role is new for the 61-year-old four-star, who told Congress on June 18 that the NSA's domestic snooping targets only foreigners abroad and has helped stop dozens of terrorist "events." Alexander, who was tapped in 2005 by Donald Rumsfeld to run the NSA and will retire next year, must worry about a different type of threat as well: he also heads the Cyber Command, the Pentagon office in charge of planning for and waging computer warfare. It's a sign of the times that the weapon of choice for this powerful, if reclusive, general is a keyboard. —MICHAEL CROWLEY

Alexander testified before Congress

The Next Move in Recycling

Curbside composting comes to New York City

BY BRYAN WALSH

NEW YORK CITY MAYOR Michael Bloomberg called it the "final recycling frontier," and now the city's residents will have to decide whether to cross it. Bloomberg's administration plans to launch a curbside composting program, with residents separating food scraps from their trash just as they do now, at least in theory, with paper, glass and plastics. Though New Yorkers are indifferent recyclers—just 15% of the city's residential waste is diverted from landfills—pilot food-recycling programs have already been successful. The entire city should begin by 2015 or '16. Food compost is messier than paper and plastic containers; it can attract vermin in ways glass bottles, for example, might not. Though it will eventually have the U.S.'s largest food-recycling program, New York is far from the first city to try curbside composting. More than 100 U.S. communities have some form of food-recycling pickup, with such deeply green cities as Seattle and Portland, Ore., leading the way. San Francisco offers dozens of varieties of city compost for use by local vineyards. That's probably not where New York's food scraps will go—but at least they won't end up in the trash.

Yoga Fusion

A summer of bend trends

Yoga comes from Sanskrit; it means joined together. Now the practice is getting married to other popular hobbies, habits and disciplines. The result: new hybrids. —KATY STEINMETZ

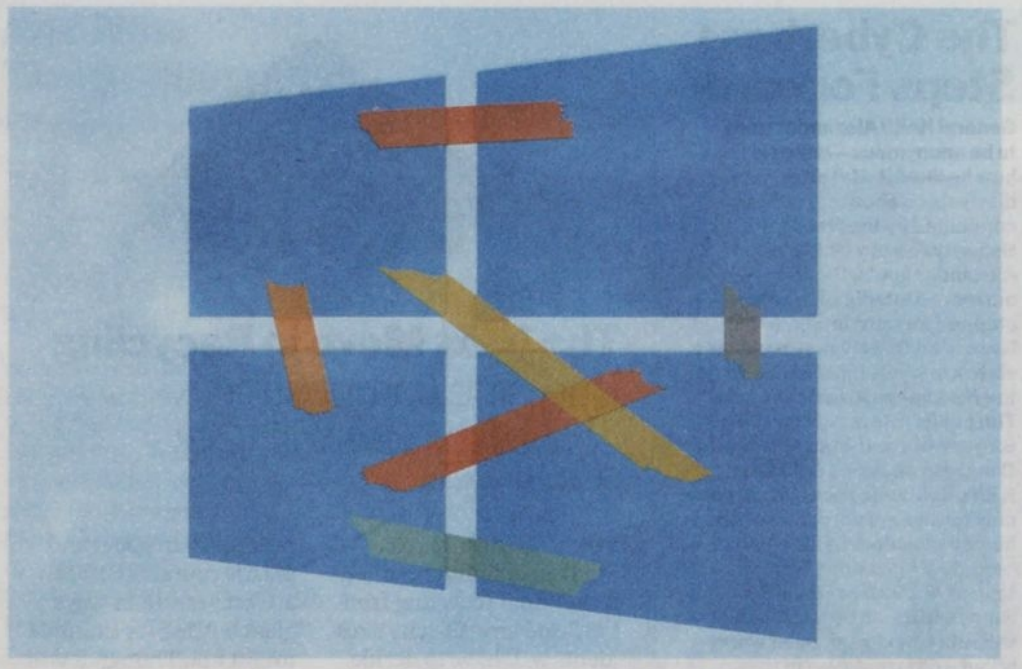
DOGA
Some people prefer to slip into a downward-facing dog in the company of their canines. Humans meditate; pups get stretched.

BROGA
These classes are designed for the less flexible sex—bros—who may be intimidated by classes with pretzel-like women.

YOGALATES
It's not a drink. Take the exercises from Pilates; add the postures and breathing of yoga. Also known as piloga.

ACROYOGA
In acrobatic yoga, poses are often done with a partner; couples help each other into complex balancing acts.

Tech



Washing Windows Microsoft takes another crack at its operating-system upgrade

BY HARRY MCCRACKEN

LAST OCTOBER, MICROSOFT RELEASED Windows 8. With a radically new touch-friendly interface, an app store and other iPad-era trimmings—and no iconic Start button—it was a bold reimagining of the world's dominant PC operating system.

Maybe too bold. In the wake of its release, PC sales plunged by a record-setting 14% in the first quarter of this year, according to research firm IDC.

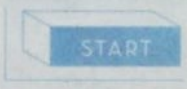
The fall is not all Windows 8's fault. The industry was already sagging, as consumers switched their spending to gadgets-come-lately like tablets and smartphones. Still, PC users might welcome a Windows upgrade that doesn't ask them to unlearn quite so high a percentage of what they already know. They'll get one when Microsoft releases Windows 8.1, a free update that will debut at the company's Build conference on June 26 and will ship in final form later this year.

The new version isn't a wholesale rollback of Windows 8's many changes: Microsoft is still betting that folks will grow more comfortable with the new look over time. But the company has restored the Start button. It lets you boot up your PC directly into the old-school Windows desktop rather than dumping you into the wholly unfamiliar Start screen. And other new features, such as fancier search and photo-editing tools, aim to make the upgrade tempting rather than intimidating.

Will Windows 8.1 help snap the PC market out of its slump? Ross Rubin, principal analyst at Reticle Research, says the industry has often thrived when Microsoft produced upgrades—such as Windows XP and Windows 7—that emphasized refinement and continuity over revolutionary advances: "The history of Windows has been that those kinds of releases have been hailed." If consumers are more enthusiastic about Windows 8.1 than they've been for Windows 8, it'll be because 8.1 feels new—but not too new.

WINDOWS 7
Microsoft sold 100 million copies in its first six months, a pace Windows 8 matched

The New New Windows



START BUTTON
It's back, although it now points to the newfangled Start screen rather than to the tried-and-true Start menu

IMPROVED SNAP VIEW
Work with two (or more) new-style, touch-friendly Windows apps onscreen

SKYDRIVE STORAGE
Save files to Microsoft's cloud-storage service—and use them even if you're not online

ALL-IN-ONE SEARCH
Find stuff on your PC, in your Skydrive storage and—via Microsoft's Bing—on the Web

KEYBOARD AND MOUSE TWEAKS
Better input for garden-variety PCs that don't have a touchscreen

ILLUSTRATIONS BY LIZ MEYER FOR TIME

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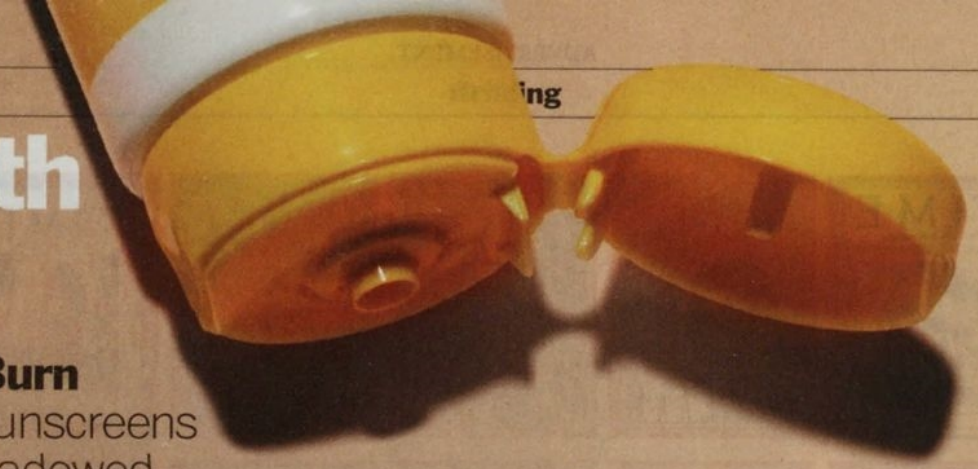

Fear the Burn

Why U.S. sunscreens are overshadowed

BY ALEXANDRA SIFFERLIN

NOT ALL SUNSCREENS ARE CREATED equal. That's the message being pushed by the Food and Drug Administration, which this summer will start requiring makers to say whether their products protect against both ultraviolet-A and ultraviolet-B rays. UVA rays are always present, even on cloudy days, and cause skin aging. UVB rays are largely responsible for burns. Both can cause cancer.

What the labels won't tell you is that while U.S. sunscreens are safe to use, they're not as protective as they could be. Eight applications for cutting-edge ingredients—like bisoctrizole, which reflects and scatters UV rays—have been pending with the FDA for years. All are deemed safe in Europe, where they're common in creams from L'Oréal, among other makers. Those sunscreens can be purchased online—but U.S. buyers must pay hefty shipping costs.

Why the delay? Not only does the FDA test for safety and efficacy, but products also must prove themselves in a similar market, like Europe, for at least five years. The process is stringent to prevent products that disrupt hormones or cause allergic reactions from making it to market.

But the Public Access to SunScreens (PASS) Coalition, a lobbying group of sunscreen manufacturers, dermatologists and skin-cancer organizations, is pushing the FDA and Congress to streamline the approval process. And legislators are listening. Congress directed the FDA to take final action on pending ingredients by June 2014 and to develop a new process so innovative ingredients get on the market quicker.

What to Look for on New Sunscreen Labels

BROAD SPECTRUM
This phrase means a product has been proved to protect against both UVA and UVB radiation and all types of sun-induced skin damage

MUST REAPPLY
Labels cannot say "sweatproof" or "waterproof" (those claims are false) and must have directions on when to reapply

SPF 50+
Still technically allowed, but the FDA is investigating whether any SPF above 50 really provides extra protection

SPRAY-ON
Also still technically allowed, but the FDA is dubious of its effectiveness and concerned that it's unsafe if unintentionally inhaled

Sources: PASS Coalition; FDA; EWG

Photograph by Jamie Chung for TIME

Katherine Heigl, Real-Life User and Snoozer.

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Keep out of reach of children.

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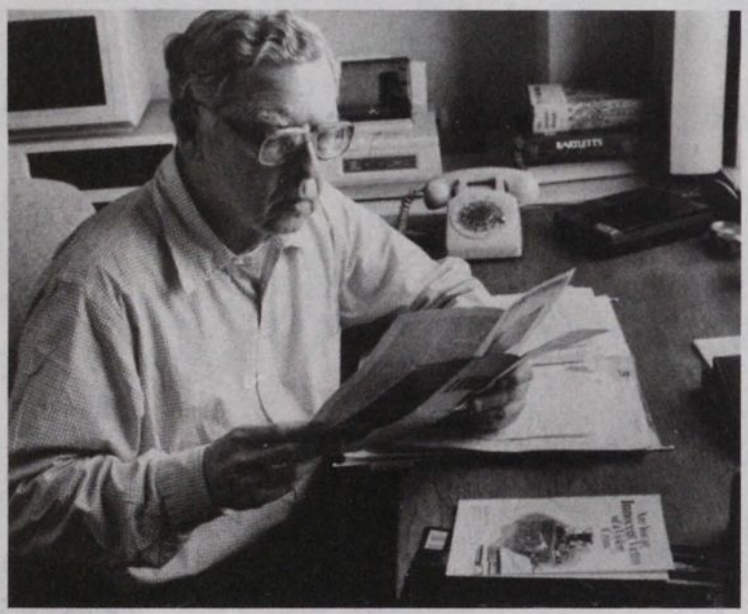
Milestones



DIED

Ralph Graves

Vital editor of LIFE

I met Ralph Graves in 1993, when I was editor of the relaunched monthly LIFE. My colleagues and I had just reformatted the magazine; he dropped in to introduce himself and to tell me this LIFE was about half as good as the one he had worked for across 24 years. I wasn't crushed—half as good as the adventuresome and immensely popular weekly LIFE that Ralph edited from 1969 to 1972 wasn't bad at all. His phenomenal efficiency (a colleague once said, "The bottom of his inbox was always visible") gave no hint of his imagination (he wrote a vivid novel set in 1st century Rome) or his editorial courage.

In 1969, when most Establishment media (including LIFE's sibling, TIME) were still supporting the futile war in Vietnam, he published head shots of 242 U.S. servicemen under the headline ONE WEEK'S DEAD; only LIFE could have brought the war's horrors home with such intimacy and impact. Three years later, when seismic changes in advertising compelled the magazine to cease publication, Ralph tucked into the lower-right corner of its final cover the word that inevitably came to mind upon his death June 10 at 88: *goodbye.* —DANIEL OKRENT

***Okrent** was editor of* LIFE *from 1992 to 1996*

SELECTED

Anne McClain

'I couldn't stand, I couldn't breathe, and then there were tears.'

McClain, describing her reaction after learning that she had been picked by NASA as one of eight astronauts to be trained for deep-space exploration missions, including perhaps the agency's first missions to an asteroid and to Mars

DIED

Bernard Sahlins

Founding father of improv

Bernard Sahlins was a small-time theater producer in Chicago in 1959 when, with director Paul Sills and actor Howard Alk, he opened a new vest-pocket theater in a former Chinese laundry and called it the Second City. It was an instant success, pioneering a new style of comedy: not one-liners or knockabout skits but understated, naturalistic sketches based on cast improvisations. Their comedy was smart, politically aware and sharply attuned to the rhythms and neuroses of Cold War–era America.

The theater was the breeding ground for generations of American comics, from Alan Arkin, Robert Klein and Joan Rivers through practically every important member of the early *Saturday Night Live* and *SCTV* casts, including John Belushi, Bill Murray and, at Second City's Toronto spin-off, Gilda Radner and Martin Short. Sahlins was the business brains, but eventually he became the company's chief director as well before selling his stake to Toronto colleague Andrew Alexander in 1984. He died June 16 at age 90, but the innovations he fostered have changed the face of American comedy for good.
—RICHARD ZOGLIN

DIED
Michael Hastings, 33, author and journalist, in a one-car crash. His 2010 *Rolling Stone* article "The Runaway General" led to the firing of General Stanley McChrystal, the top U.S. commander in Afghanistan.

DEFINED
Tweet, by the *Oxford English Dictionary.* The June update of the venerable and authoritative *OED* officially recognizes the word as both a noun (a post on Twitter) and a verb (the act of posting to the social-media site).

APPOINTED
By the Bank of England, **Charlotte Hogg,** as its chief operating officer. Hogg, the daughter of a former Tory minister, will be the highest-ranking woman in the bank's 319-year history.

DIED
Thomas Penfield Jackson, 76, the federal judge who in 2000 ordered Microsoft split into two companies on antitrust grounds, an order vacated because of interviews he gave to the media.

DIED
Joan H. Parker, 80, charity worker, advocate for gay rights and the inspiration for Susan Silverman, a featured character in the *Spenser* series of detective novels by her late husband Robert Parker.

DISCONTINUED
The **world's last telegram service,** effective July 13. BSNL, India's state-owned telecom company, says it is losing $23 million per year by continuing to send the antiquated messages.

GRAVES: MARIANNE BARCELLONA—TIME & LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES; MCCLAIN: NASA; SAHLINS: CHICAGO HISTORY MUSEUM/GETTY IMAGES

Jon Meacham

Has Jeb's Time Come?

Genes, family history and shifting demographics explain why another Bush may run in 2016

IT'S ONE OF THE MORE INTERESTING what-ifs of the past few decades. What would have happened if both George W. and Jeb Bush had won their gubernatorial bids in 1994? Which brother would have run for President in 2000 against Al Gore? Late in George W. Bush's second presidential term, I asked his father this question. The senior Bush shrugged, waving off the hypothetical. "Who knows?" he replied. "Didn't happen." Then, after the briefest of pauses, the 41st President added, "If Jeb wants his shot, he should have it. He's done the work, been a governor—a very fine governor, I might add—and if he wants to go for it, I hope he does."

That hope, it is safe to say, endures. No one who knows George H.W. Bush seriously doubts that the former President would like to see Jeb mount a campaign for the White House. Barbara Bush has expressed skepticism. "There are other people out there that are very qualified, and we've had enough Bushes," she told NBC's *Today* show last April. Asked about 2016 on ABC's *This Week* last Sunday, Jeb said, "I think we've got a split ballot amongst the Bush senior family. Pretty sure that's the case."

The former Florida governor says he'll make a decision next year. Either way, the speculation about a Bush bid in 2016 tells us a lot about one of the handful of truly influential American families and more than a little bit about the country that family has helped shape.

JEB LONG AGO INTERNALIZED AND THEN LIVED out his family's guiding precepts. Bushes move to new parts of the country; they work hard; they learn from their mistakes, particularly from failed campaigns; and they never, ever give up. His grandfather Prescott Bush was raised in Columbus, Ohio, and settled in Greenwich, Conn., after marrying Dorothy Walker, the daughter of G.H. Walker of St. Louis and New York City. Prescott was a tireless partner at Brown Brothers Harriman, an investment firm, and lost two races for the U.S. Senate before winning a seat from Connecticut in 1952.

His son George loved his father but wanted to break away from the life of a commuter in a *New Yorker* short story, and so the great move to Odessa, Texas, after World War II and Yale. George H.W. Bush also lost the first race he ever ran, for the Senate in 1964, before winning two House races and then losing again for the Senate in 1970. Then came a decade of public service in appointive jobs before he improbably challenged Ronald Reagan in 1980. Bush endured, however, and prevailed on his own at last in 1988.

Little of this was lost on Jeb Bush, whose life mirrors larger shifting American realities. His wife Columba was born in Mexico; he moved to Florida, turning it into his version of his grandfather's Northeast or his father's Texas. And he too suffered that tough loss for governor in 1994, learning from it and then coming back four years later.

In one sense, the speculation about Jeb is based on a myth that doesn't really hold up: that Jeb was the Bush son who was supposed to be President. The Bush saga runs like this: For decades Jeb was the studious son who might one day be presidential material. George W. was the cutup. My own view is that the contrast between Jeb's virtues and George W.'s vices is exaggerated. Wasps to the core, Bushes don't sit down and talk about dynastic roles, much less assign them. They're more likely to discuss sports or tell mildly off-color jokes.

Those who think "Bush fatigue" is pre-emptively fatal to Jeb's chances may be underestimating the American affinity for brand names. The Bushes aren't kings; in managementspeak, they're a line of related products that most Americans recognize and have chosen on three (1988, 2000 and 2004) of the four occasions they've been on offer. Will we have a chance to buy another? George W., whose approval ratings are rising as the years pass, has said he'd like his brother to try for it.

It's possible that the choice will come down to the Bushes and another familiar American product: the Clintons. Perhaps the two clans will soon join Lancashire and York, Gladstone and Disraeli, Fitzgerald and Hemingway, and the Yankees and the Red Sox as one of history's great rivalries. Remember: the Clintons have renamed the family foundation the Bill, Hillary and Chelsea Clinton Foundation, while Jeb's son George P. is seeking statewide office in Texas. This could go on forever.

It is, after all, in the genes—or the blood. In 1966, four years after he retired from the Senate, Prescott Bush spoke of politics in viral terms: "Once you've had the exposure to politics that I had ... it gets in your blood, and then when you get out, nothing else satisfies that in your blood. I mean, there's no substitute for it, you see." About that, it seems, there can be no doubt. ■

THE BUSH DYNASTY SO FAR

1952–2009
The Bush family played some role in American government from 1952 to 2009. Will Jeb Bush resurrect the dynasty?

PRESCOTT BUSH
Senator from Connecticut

GEORGE H.W. BUSH
CIA Director
President

GEORGE W. BUSH
Governor of Texas
President

JEB BUSH
Governor of Florida

PRESCOTT BUSH: AP; GEORGE H.W. BUSH: JOE MITCHELL—GETTY IMAGES; GEORGE W. BUSH: MIKE STONE—REUTERS; JEB BUSH: MARK WILSON—GETTY IMAGES

Can Servic

It just might. By helping returning troops regain their sense of purpose,

Tag-teaming a tornado *Marine vet Terry Roberts, left, and Army vet Isaiah Johnson lay siege to storm damage in Moore, Okla.*

Photograph by Eric Thayer for TIME

e Save Us?

veterans' groups are proving that public service is therapeutic BY JOE KLEIN

261,998
Number of Iraq and Afghanistan vets who received a provisional diagnosis of PTSD at VA medical facilities from 2002 through the first quarter of 2013

There was absolutely no way Ian Smith was suffering from posttraumatic stress disorder. He was sure of it.

He was O.K. He was living with his girlfriend in a suburb of Nashville working three jobs—mowing lawns, delivering pizzas, cleaning a local church. He was carrying a 4.0 average at Volunteer State Community College. Yes, he'd seen some terrible stuff during two tours in Iraq. But others had been through much worse. He'd never been wounded. He was alive.

But it was a strange sort of alive. He lived on his couch, with his pistol. He didn't sleep much. The only way he could get to sleep was by getting drunk, so he got drunk every night and slept with his gun under the pillow. He had gained 60 lb. since leaving the Army in February 2009. He drank more and more. His girlfriend left him. He put the gun to his head several times. "He absolutely refused to believe he was suffering from PTSD," said his buddy Mike Pereira, a fellow Army intelligence analyst. "But I wasn't going to let him alone."

Pereira was working for a veterans' service organization called the Mission Continues, in St. Louis. He heard Ian's anguish over the phone and over the headset when they played *Call of Duty* together. Mike had lived through some tough times too after leaving the Army. He too had been living alone, on the couch. He too had put a gun to his head. But he was living with a purpose now. And he kept after Ian to come to St. Louis: Come for a weekend, come do a service project. Mike talked nonstop about the Mission Continues and its leader, Eric Greitens, about the peace he'd found. Ian was skeptical—it almost sounded like a cult—but he agreed to visit Mike and work on a service project, cleaning up the Edgewood Children's Center in St. Louis.

And there, almost without noticing it at first, Ian began to feel better. He was painting a room with a bunch of veterans, trading war stories. "All of them had this real tough, kind of like, exterior, but inside they were just like me, just confused and scared and really angry," Ian, now 30, recalled. "And I saw these guys doing these very simple things. Nobody can argue with helping to paint a wall for a disabled or homeless kid. That's just good. There's no bad in that."

Ian went back to Mike's place and really slept that night, for the first time in months. "I was blown away by how much better I felt," Ian recalled. "And I thought, Man, if I could just capture a little bit of that and hold it close to my heart, I think I could do all right. Things could get better."

Things got better. Ian moved to St. Louis. He lost the 60 lb. He stopped drinking so much; he moved the gun from his bed to the night table. He applied for and received a six-month public-service fellowship from the Mission Continues, and then joined the staff as a service-project coordinator. He was so successful at this that he was eventually summoned to the White House, to serve as an intern with Joining Forces, Michelle Obama's effort to help Iraq- and Afghanistan-war veterans. He is now completing a degree in international studies at Washington University in St. Louis.

Saving Vets, Saving Ourselves

IAN SMITH'S STORY IS UNUSUAL, BUT NOT unique. We mostly hear the sad stories, about the veterans who don't get it together. But by the end of 2013, more than 800 veterans, most of them wounded, some severely, will have passed through the Mission Continues fellowship program. An initial study of 52 TMC fellows, conducted by Dr. Monica Matthieu and three Washington University colleagues, showed dramatic improvement in well-being after a six-month fellowship: 86% of the fellows reported a positive life-changing experience, 71% went on to further their education, and 86% said the program helped them transfer their military skills to civilian employment. This is especially impressive, given that 52% of those studied had suffered traumatic brain injuries and 64% had been diagnosed with posttraumatic stress. "These are positive results," Dr. Matthieu says, "but we just don't have enough data yet to say with any certainty how often public service succeeds as a therapy for PTSD."

The Mission Continues, which is based in St. Louis but has fellows serving throughout the country, is at the heart of a growing community-service activism among this generation of combat veterans. Groups are sprouting spontaneously across the country, building houses, working in health care, teaching, counseling, farming and taking care of their more seriously wounded comrades. Team Rubicon, based in Los Angeles, has a roster of about 7,000 veterans ready to do disaster-relief missions around the world; it was co-founded by a Mission Continues fellow, Jake Wood. There are other groups that help veterans reintegrate through physical exercise like running or cycling. In some cases, these organizations have started to partner with one another—Team Rubicon has joined with Team Red, White & Blue, which organizes long-distance runs for veterans; Mission Continues fellows are serving with Team Rubicon for post-tornado disaster relief in Oklahoma.

This self-help ethos stands in stark contrast to that of the more traditional military-related charities. Eric Greitens, the founder and CEO of the Mission Continues, is notoriously tough on veterans who come to him with service-related excuses. "People understand the tremendous sacrifices that veterans have made—and they instinctively want to do something for them," he says. "And that sometimes leads people to give veterans an excuse: Oh, you didn't show up for work on time. It must be that you have posttraumatic stress disorder. Oh, you're disabled. Don't even try. Or, you're being a bad partner to your husband or wife, or a bad father or mother. It must be that you lost a bunch of friends. We simply do not accept those excuses." Jake Wood has little tolerance for veterans who see themselves as victims. Posttraumatic stress is, he believes, a condition that can be battled and defeated. "If you're out doing disaster relief," Wood says, "you're less likely to be thinking about

No excuses *The Mission Continues founder Eric Greitens at work in Brooklyn*

BENJAMIN LOWY—REPORTAGE BY GETTY IMAGES FOR TIME

THE MISSION CONTINUES

Dig we must *Army veteran Clark Stinson in Brooklyn; the very act of helping others, experts say, is healing*

yourself and more likely to be thinking about the people you're helping. You're also presenting yourself, and other veterans, as a model, as a potential community leader."

Although the data about the beneficial effects of community service on recent veterans is skimpy, there is a wealth of more general evidence that shows the physical and psychological benefits of service, particularly for the elderly. Dr. Nancy Morrow-Howell of Washington University has conducted many of the relevant studies—for the White House Conference on Aging, for AARP—which show that community service provides clear health and psychological benefits, including greater longevity, reduced depression and a greater sense of purpose. "Actually, the elderly are a really good comparison group for wounded veterans," says Dr. Morrow-Howell, a co-author of the Mission Continues study. "They have to cope with a reduced ability to function physically. Many of them lose their sense of purpose and community after retirement. If they're widowed, they feel isolated. They need to rebuild their lives, rejoin the world."

In a remarkable study from Ohio State University, two groups of elderly patients in senior day care were asked to make gift baskets. One group made them for themselves; a second group was told they were making the baskets for homeless people in their community. The second group experienced a greater sense of satisfaction and psychological well-being than those who were simply making the baskets for themselves. "Service enables them to find their value outside their own suffering," says Barbara Van Dahlen, the founder of Give an Hour, a group of mental-health counselors who work with veterans, headquartered in Bethesda, Md., but serving across the country. "I don't think there's a mental-health professional on the planet who would disagree with the basic principle that serving others is therapeutic. This is not rocket science."

"We Still Need You"

"LIVES HAVE BEEN SAVED. LIVES HAVE been changed for the better," says Greitens, 39, a Rhodes Scholar and former Navy SEAL. In 2007, he was serving in Iraq as part of an al-Qaeda-targeting team when his barracks was blown up by a truck bomb. Greitens wasn't badly wounded, but several of his close friends were. A few months later, he visited Bethesda Naval Hospital to comfort the severely wounded veterans there—and he had an epiphany. As he moved from bed to bed, talking to young men who had lost limbs, lost vision and hearing, lost parts of their brains, he asked each, "What do you want to do now?" The answer was always the same: they wanted to return to their units. And if they couldn't do that? he asked. They wanted to go home and serve in some way—teach school, coach, work in the community. He found himself saying to the wounded veterans, "Great. We still need you."

Greitens came to Bethesda with unique insight into the power of service. As a college and postgraduate student, he had worked in refugee camps all around the world. He'd found that the people who kept themselves busy in the camps fared better than those who didn't. The worst off were the young men, whose lives had been violently truncated—by ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, by genocide in Cambodia and Rwanda. They had lost their sense of purpose; unlike the older people in the camps, they had no children to care for. But if they were put to work, helping out with the soccer teams Greitens was organizing, or working in the kindergarten, they began to feel better about themselves.

So he developed the idea of offering six-month service fellowships to

BENJAMIN LOWY—REPORTAGE BY GETTY IMAGES FOR TIME

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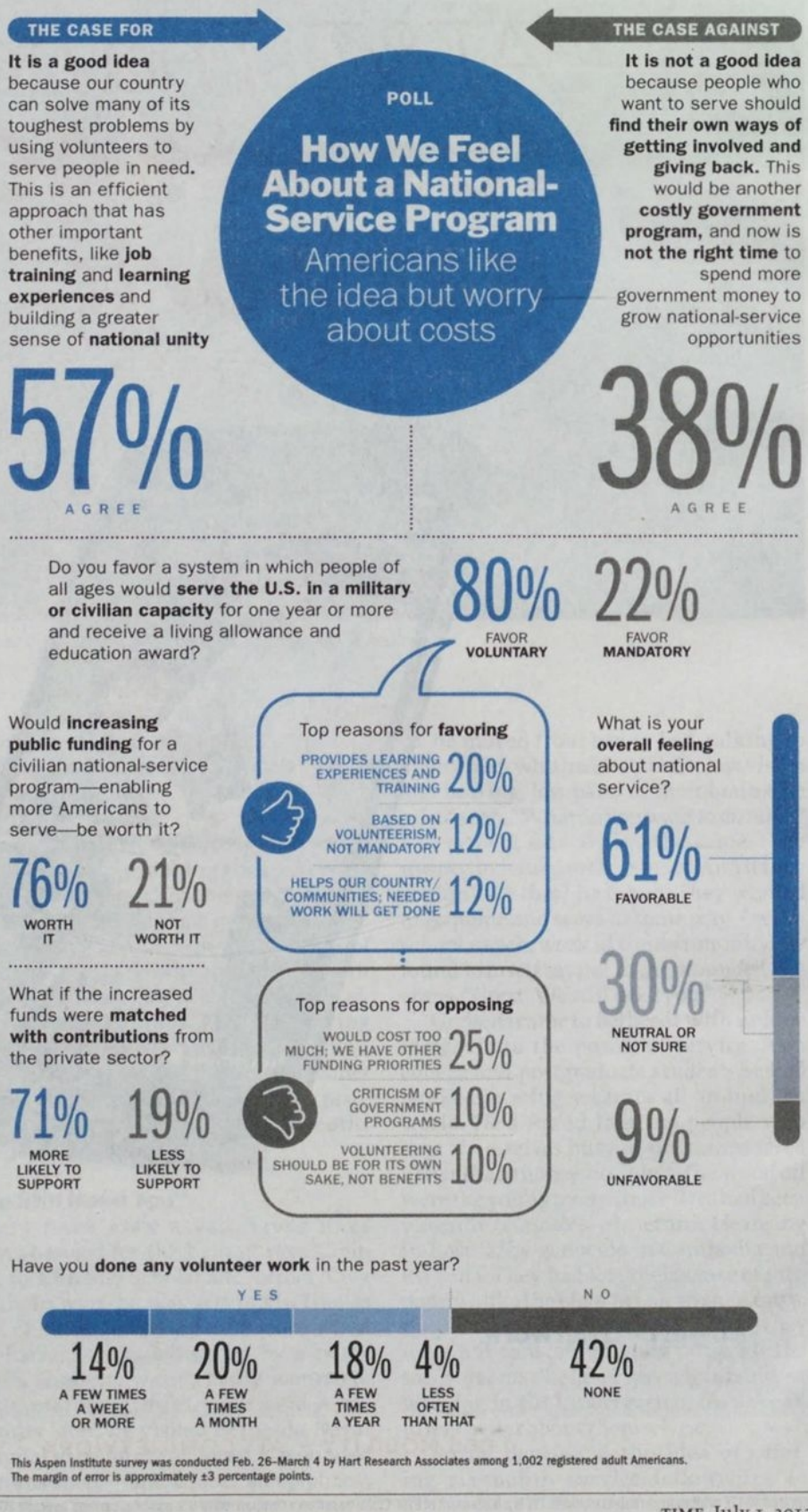
wounded veterans, if they provided him with a plausible mission plan and a host agency willing to sponsor them in their home community. He and some friends funded the first few fellowships with their combat and disability pay. They started slowly, built the program carefully. One of their first fellows worked with an equine-therapy program in Texas; another, a woman named Sonia Meneses, was sponsored by the Boys & Girls Club near Clarksville, Tenn. Sometimes it didn't work so well; sometimes the veterans who applied were just looking for a handout. To counter that, the very first Mission Continues fellow, a severely wounded former Blackhawk pilot named Chris Marvin—came up with a slogan, "It's not a charity, it's a challenge." In fact, Marvin took the fellowship but refused the stipend. "I had a 100% disability," he later told me. "The money could be better used by someone else."

A Can-Do Spirit

A VIETNAM-ERA VETERAN NAMED JODY Martinez, who joined Team Rubicon's disaster-relief effort after the Oklahoma City tornadoes, told me, "I wish we had something like this for my generation. I know so many Vietnam veterans who could have used it. There are so many lives that could have been saved."

Posttraumatic stress disorder has probably been with us since the first club hit the first skull. It used to be called shell shock, but it has become more prevalent—and identifiable—as medical sophistication has grown and as more severely wounded troops survive the horrors of battle. It may affect as many as 40% of the veterans returning from Iraq and Afghanistan. It is amorphous and unpredictable, and sometimes maddeningly difficult to detect because there are no obvious physical manifestations; when it is paired with traumatic brain injury, it can be entirely debilitating. "It is also incredibly easy to fake, if you want to get a VA rating for disability payments," a veterans leader told me. But it is real enough for people like Ian Smith and Mike Pereira of the Mission Continues, and for Team Rubicon's Wood, who suffers from survivor's guilt. The difference is, they believe it can be treated.

Van Dahlen of Give an Hour is vehement about dropping the *D* from PTSD. "In most cases, especially those without



This Aspen Institute survey was conducted Feb. 26–March 4 by Hart Research Associates among 1,002 registered adult Americans. The margin of error is approximately ±3 percentage points.

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52,000
Number of veterans diagnosed with mild traumatic brain injury, of the 123,000 who screened positive for a possible TBI from April 2007 through December 2012

a significant brain injury, they're going through a reasonable reaction to the terrifying experience of combat," she says. "If it's treated well, the effects should be transitory." Indeed, posttraumatic stress isn't just a reaction to the horrors of combat. When they leave the service, veterans are catapulted from an intense brother-and-sisterhood where the most serious issues imaginable are confronted every day, and plopped down into a society where they no longer have the comfort and purpose of being part of something larger than themselves. In a perverse way, their reaction to civilian life can be seen as a form of sanity: too many of the rest of us have slouched from active citizenship to passive couch-potato-hood. Many returning veterans find that passivity and isolation intolerable.

William McNulty, a co-founder of Team Rubicon, told me that the sense of military camaraderie regained on a disaster-relief project is so intense that it can lead to unintended consequences. After Hurricane Sandy, there were several reports of Team Rubicon volunteers crashing into depression or worse when they got home. One Marine telephoned McNulty in the middle of the night with a gun to his head; McNulty spent most of the night talking to him, finally persuading the Marine to give the gun to his grandmother. As a result of such cases, Team Rubicon and Van Dahlen are planning a joint mental-health and service effort, which would embed counselors in Team Rubicon disaster-relief teams and offer follow-on counseling to those who want it.

Greitens has also changed the Mission Continues fellowship program to reflect the psychological realities of coming home. Fellows are now grouped into four classes a year and have a weekend orientation at which they get to meet one another and gain the sense that they are, once again, part of something larger than themselves. They do a service project together and take an oath of service before returning to their communities. In addition, Greitens and his team have developed a mandatory personal-development curriculum for the fellows—reading and writing assignments each month to help their transition to civilian life and, more, to become "citizen leaders" back home.

In a 2009 study, 92% of recent veterans expressed a desire to continue serving in some way. Greitens and other leaders of veterans' self-help groups want to modify the GI Bill so that it will also pay for a year's worth of public service. "Service can help focus veterans, help them to find a career path and use their educational benefits under the GI Bill wisely," says Ken Harbaugh of Service Nation, who was present at the creation of the Mission Continues. "Imagine the impact that 100,000 veterans spending a year in public service back home would have."

But why stop there? "We've created a human program that works for veterans," Greitens says. "There is no reason it can't work for civilians." There seems to be a general hunger for service in the 30-and-under millennial generation; in 2011 there were 582,000 applications for 82,000 slots in AmeriCorps, the federal government's volunteer service program. Programs like the Peace Corps and Teach for America are also bursting with applicants.

Imagine the impact a robust national-service program—like the service corps proposed by the Aspen Institute's Franklin Project—would have on our nation of couch dwellers. If service is therapeutic, imagine the impact, especially on boys, who are having more trouble than girls graduating from high school and college these days. If service can reconnect individuals to their communities, imagine the impact on our waning sense of civic engagement, our weirdly hollow democracy in which active citizenship has been displaced by marketing and political sloganeering. Would it be so bad if the rest of us became more attuned to the values and can-do spirit our veterans have brought home from the military?

Want to pitch in? Here's how to start

AllforGood.org
The community-service search engine offers a mobile app to link volunteers to local nonprofits and grassroots organizations

ServeNet.org
Dedicated to promoting service among children and teens, the site grants $1 million each year to youth-led projects

VolunteerMatch.org
More than 93,000 nonprofits recruit millions of volunteers through this outfit

Catchafire.org
Catchafire matches professionals' skills with what volunteer organizations need most

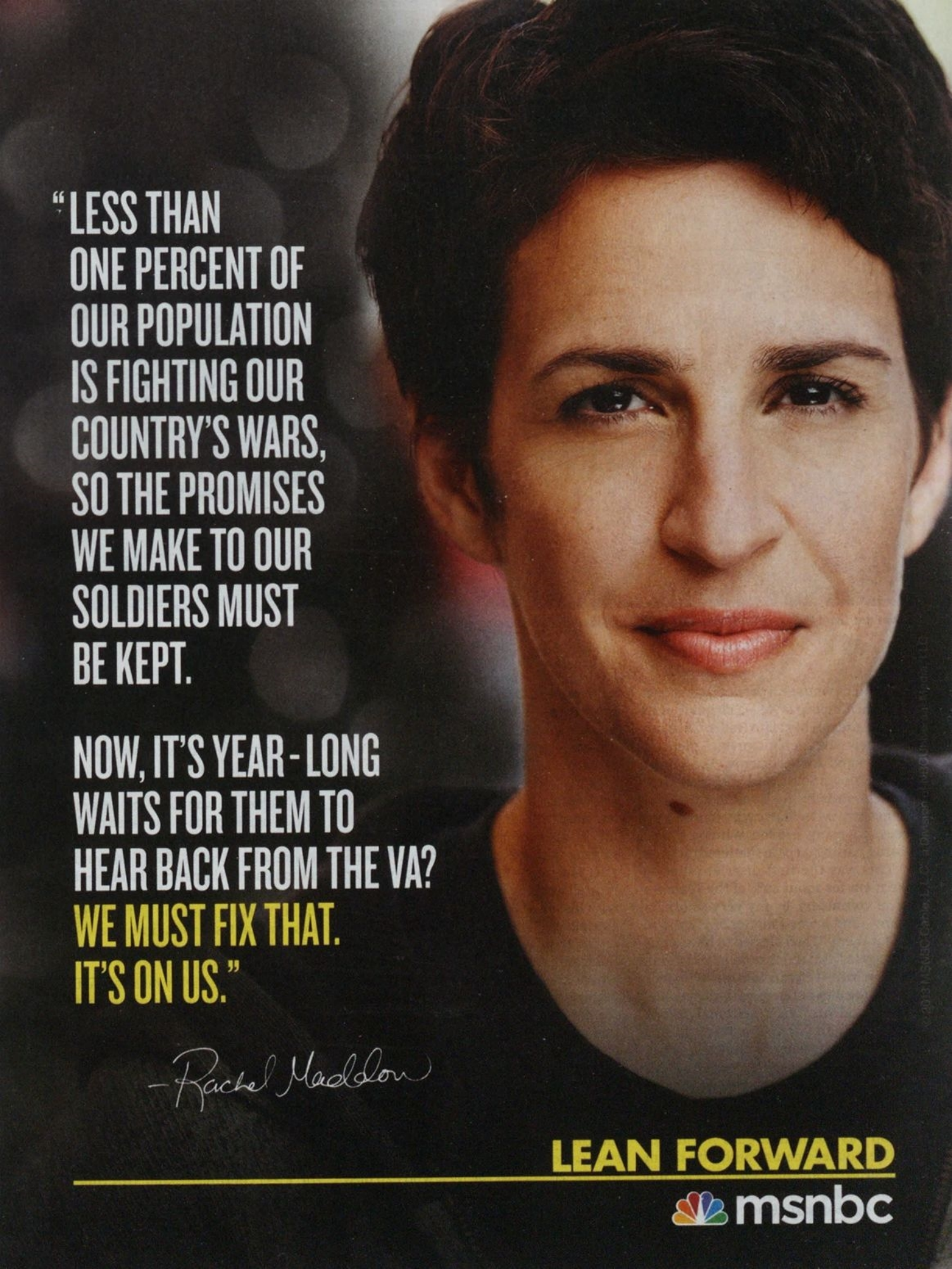
After the Tornado

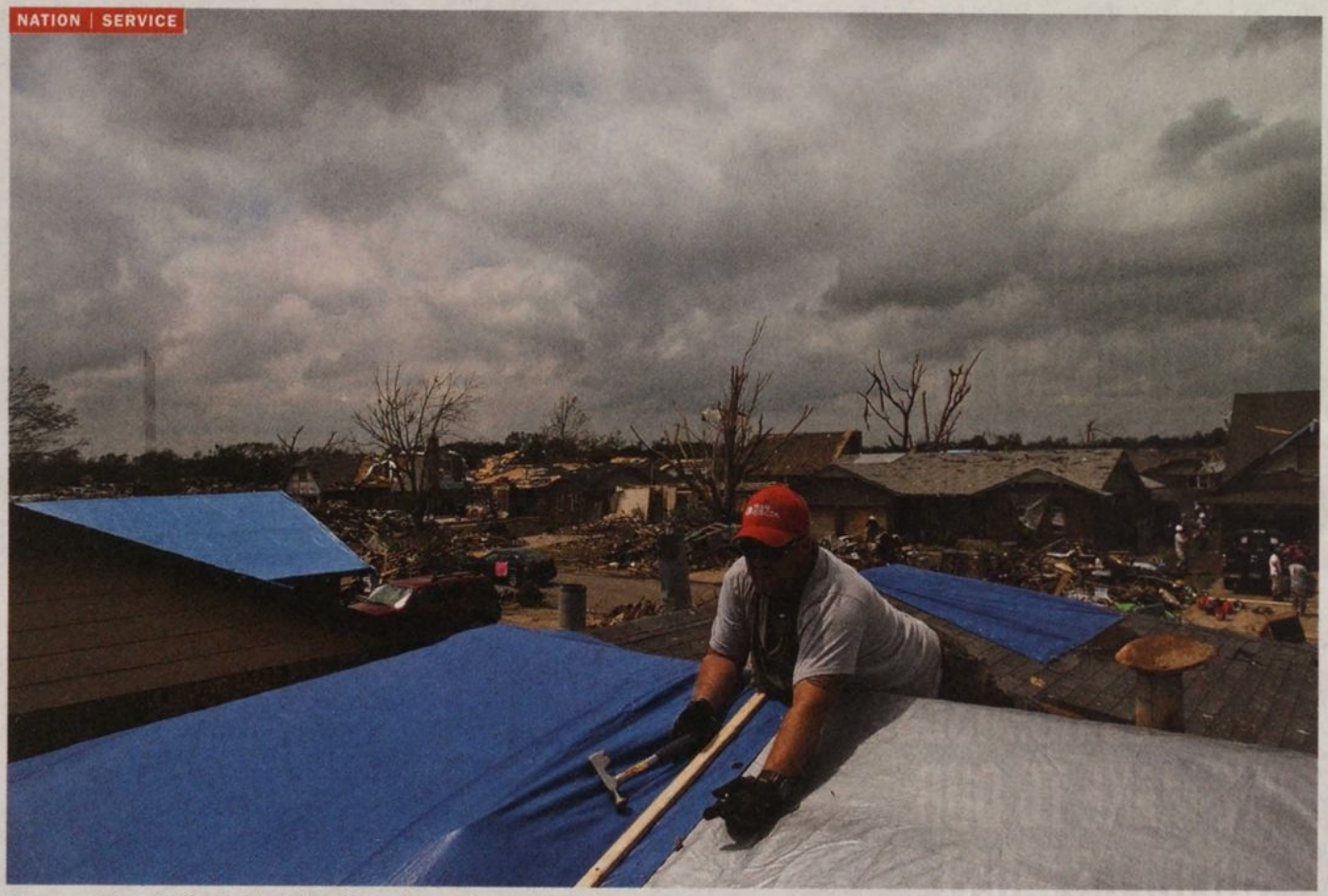
OF COURSE, IT'S NOT ENOUGH TO TALK about the values of service. It's best to experience them—and so, after the Oklahoma City tornadoes, I spent Memorial Day weekend working with the Team Rubicon members doing disaster relief.

We deployed in the postapocalyptic shadow of the local Imax. The landscape was the sort of thing you'd normally see inside the theater—total, sometimes incomprehensible post-tornado devastation. There were cars literally wrapped around trees, 2-by-4s javelined into the sides of houses, a hospital crushed, strip-mall banality interrupted, obliterated by the storm, and then resumed a quarter-mile down the road.

But there was an occupying army of relief workers, led by local first responders, exhausted but still humping it a week after the storm, church groups from all over the country—funny how you don't see organized groups of secular humanists giving out hot meals—and there in the middle of it all, with a purposeful military swagger, were the volunteers from Team Rubicon. They looked tough, megatatted, in camouflage pants, gray T-shirts and white hard hats. They moved with purpose and spirit and were equipped by Home Depot—which has done brilliant work locating and funding the very best veterans service groups—with an impressive array of chain saws, power tools, wheelbarrows, tarps and wood.

The 60 Rubicon volunteers came from all over the country, but most, in this first phase of the deployment, were from the Midwest. They were aided by a handful of civilian volunteers, including a cadre of first responders from elsewhere in the country—cops from Ipswich, Mass.,


"LESS THAN ONE PERCENT OF OUR POPULATION IS FIGHTING OUR COUNTRY'S WARS, SO THE PROMISES WE MAKE TO OUR SOLDIERS MUST BE KEPT.
NOW, IT'S YEAR-LONG WAITS FOR THEM TO HEAR BACK FROM THE VA? WE MUST FIX THAT. IT'S ON US."
-Rachel Maddow
LEAN FORWARD
msnbc



Cover me *Team Rubicon's Chad Reynolds tacks a roof tarp down in Moore*

firefighters, who seem particularly attracted to the Rubicon style—a chaplain from Florida and me. My team leader, Chad, immediately gave me a nickname—Grampa (ouch)—and a wheelbarrow. We worked our way down Southwest 7th Street, clearing debris and piling it on the street front (hence my wheelbarrow), chainsawing trees, covering broken windows with boards, nailing tarps to shattered rooftops.

This was the first disaster-relief deployment for about 40% of the Team Rubicon volunteers, by my very unofficial count—and it was a matter of joy and relief for them. "I feel blessed to have a mission again," Isaiah Johnson of Oklahoma City, an Army veteran, told me. "This feels like home. I'm out here with my people." Isaiah and his "very extremely close" friend Megan McKee, a Navy Rescue Swimmer, were part of a work team headed by Marine Master Sergeant (ret.) Michael Washington, a 50-year-old Seattle firefighter—known as Top to his troops, of course—who lost his son in Iraq.

Top was one of those guys you just follow. He radiated a natural authority, taking the lead on the toughest jobs while puffing on a very complicated-looking pipe. At the end of our Saturday labor, Top called his crew together and told them, "This was a great team. We really learned how to do this work today. We may not work together tomorrow, but you are all leaders now. You can do this." Those were magic words for his squad. Most of them hadn't heard that sort of praise, or encouragement, from anyone since they came home. As Top later told me, it was good for him too, almost like serving with his son's comrades. (Indeed, after Hurricane Sandy, he actually found himself working with kids who had served with his son in Iraq.) "I'm in this for good," Top told me. "I'm anywhere they want me."

On Sunday night, back in the Team Rubicon barracks—a not-so-nearby high school gymnasium—we gathered for an evening debrief. Some people talked about the day's work; others talked about how they'd been feeling alone, stressed, angry, passive back home ... and how being part of a unit once again really mattered. We sat in the dark bleachers of the high school's softball field. A warm, gentle breeze was blowing in from the Gulf. Toward the end of the meeting, an incredibly courageous Army staff sergeant named Chris Dominski remembered not just the men who had died under his command in Baghdad in 2004, but also the precise date and circumstances of their deaths, the names of the wives and children they'd left behind. He spoke softly. The effect was mesmerizing. Chris said he'd had a hard time with survivor guilt after he came home. He said he'd tried to commit suicide twice. "I guess I wasn't too good at it, but what I wanted to say here is that you—Team Rubicon—you saved my life."

On Monday, there was a Memorial Day service at the Team Rubicon Forward Operation Base in the parking lot of the Home Depot on Southwest 19th Street. Top led the service. He read the Gettysburg Address in a taut, sharp military manner, in a way that brought power and emotional resonance to the words:

"That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

After that, Top recited the names of dead comrades, ending with his son. The flag was raised, and taps was sung by a solitary anonymous voice. And then we all went back to work. The march down Southwest 7th Street continued—and, this time, the men and women of Team Rubicon were winning their battle, house to house. ■

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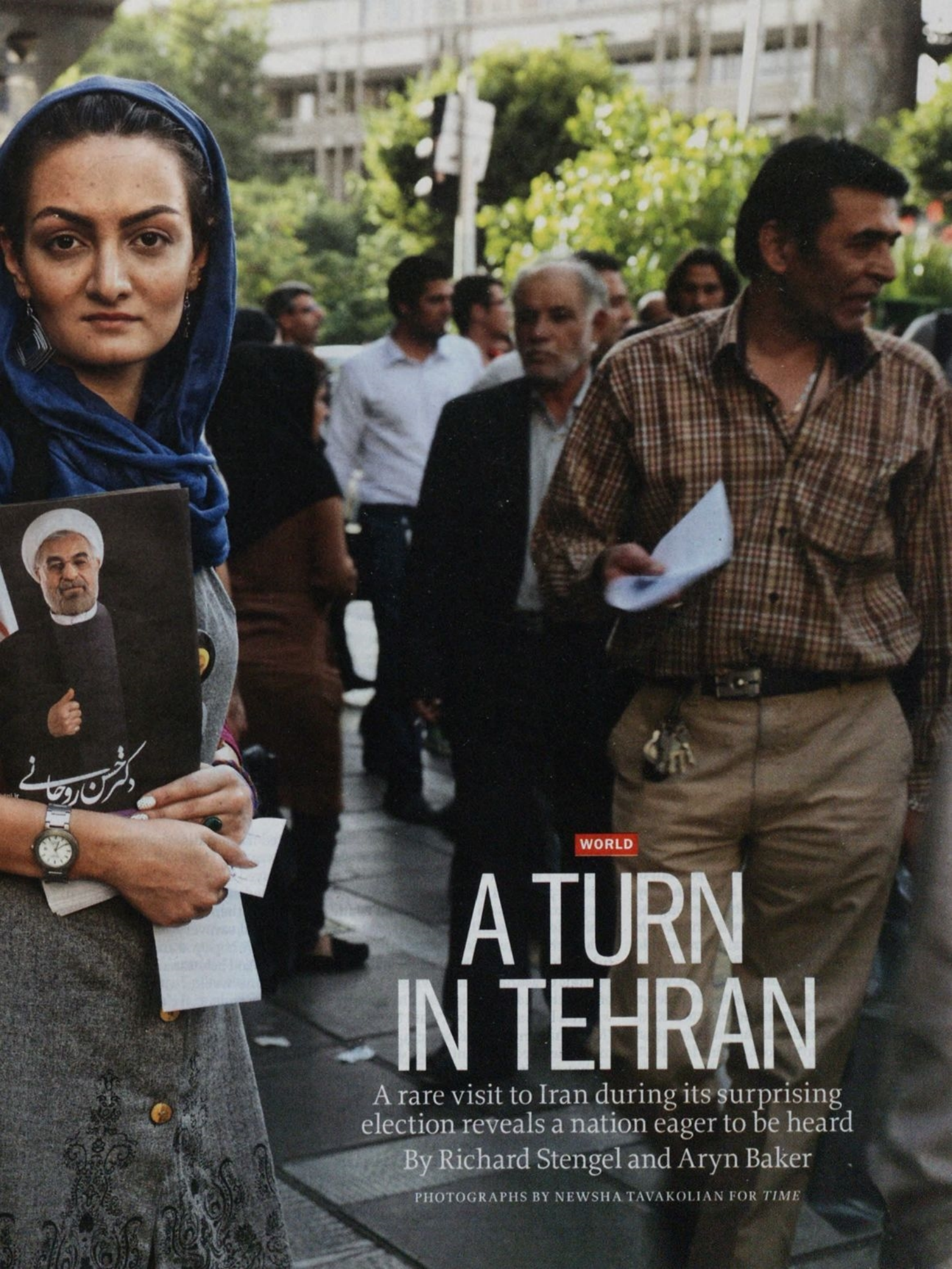
Canvassing Tehran
Kian Rezaaei, 21, a supporter of Hassan Rouhani's, helps get out the vote days before the presidential election



WORLD

A TURN IN TEHRAN

A rare visit to Iran during its surprising election reveals a nation eager to be heard

By Richard Stengel and Aryn Baker

PHOTOGRAPHS BY NEWSHA TAVAKOLIAN FOR *TIME*

Supreme power *Ayatullah Ali Khamenei looms large over Tehran's Enghelab Square*

Holy destination *Iranian women at the 17th century*

LEANING AGAINST THE WALL IN AYATULLAH Ruhollah Khomeini's Tehran sitting room is a portrait of a young boy. A portrait of the Prophet Muhammad as a young boy, to be exact. How is it that this fire-tongued figure of radical Shi'ism, this thrower of fatwas, the face of political Islam, would permit something so sacrilegious as a portrait of the Prophet in his presence, when we all know that depicting the founder of Islam is a sin? The guard at the gate of Khomeini's house and museum in Tehran just shrugged. "I don't know. He just liked it."

A few days later, we had the opportunity to ask one of Khomeini's old friends the same question. We were in Qum, Iran's center of Islamic study, and we visited Khomeini's home there, a cheerful mud-walled compound wrapped around a small fountain flanked by fruit trees. Farahjolah Moussavi was the cleric in residence, an expert in Islamic law who took calls from across the nation on matters both arcane and mundane. (When we arrived, a woman was asking his advice about a potential suitor for her teenage daughter.) Moussavi explained that Islam prohibits the worship of images, not the images themselves. So as long as the faithful don't prostrate themselves before a portrait of Muhammad, having a picture or two around is no big deal. "In Shi'ism, we are a lot more flexible," said Moussavi. "More than anything, Khomeini was pragmatic. He liked the painting, so we left it in his house as it was."

You could say the same thing about Iranians more generally—they are flexible and pragmatic. They have carved out a life for themselves between strict religious control and their more artistic and sensuous heritage, between the weight of economic sanctions and their history as traders. Young women in chadors have elaborately painted fingernails. Young men kneel to pray wearing tight T-shirts and fashionably frayed blue jeans. At a political rally, the crowd can be chanting "Death to the USA," and then a bearded fellow will turn to you and say, very solicitously and earnestly, "We hope you are enjoying your trip to Iran." And he means it.

For one week, in the lead-up to the June 14 presidential election that replaced the bombastic Mahmoud Ahmadinejad with the moderate Hassan Rouhani, a cleric and close associate of Khomeini's, TIME was granted access to the Islamic Republic, a country as misunderstood as it is inaccessible. And even though our movements were limited to Qum and the capital, Tehran, we roamed those cities, chatting with citizens at train stations and bazaars, *shisha* bars, political rallies and religious shrines. We saw a country that challenged our assumptions, a cosmopolitan capital

rine of Fatemeh Masoumeh in Qum

Show of support *Yasaman Karimi, 23, at a rally in Tehran for a reformist candidate*

that thrives in the face of sanctions, even as residents grumble about the price of rice and cooking oil.

Decades ago, someone in the city government had the foresight to plant trees on every street, and the Iranian capital—a place of over 12 million people and no discernible traffic regulations—is green and leafy and welcoming. Under this peaceful canopy of trees, small cars screech around corners, cutting one another off at every opportunity. Pedestrians cross the street randomly, seemingly anywhere and anytime they like—blithely ignoring the motorists.

We were accompanied everywhere by a Foreign Ministry–appointed translator, whose discomfort with political talk was balanced by his tolerance for two curious American journalists. Wherever we spoke to people out on the street, interviewing them about the election and sanctions and Iran's nuclear program, Iranians gathered round to politely listen in, sometimes interjecting their own views, until there was a crowd 10 people deep. They were eager to venture their opinions and to hear ours. Internet restrictions and censored news have cut them off from the outside world and made them more curious to hear what outsiders have to say.

Everywhere we heard concern about the Iranian economy and criticism of sanctions. Sanctions seem to have had the effect of making Iranians both less friendly toward the U.S. government and more adamant about their nuclear program. Conservatives see sanctions as part of a larger plot for regime change, a push to so deprive the populace that it rises up in revolt. But Iranians are only a generation away from their revolution and are loath to open old scars. "We have seen what happens when the people rise up. We are not ready for that again," said computer technician Ali Momtaz. Even moderates and liberals were not ready to compromise on the nuclear program. "We have a right to pursue nuclear energy," said Ehsan Sharif, a young entrepreneur. "It is not up to the West to tell us what to do with our technology. If India can have nuclear power, why not us?" We heard this sentiment over and over. Almost no one said Iran needed a nuclear program to create weapons, but

THE MOST IMPORTANT THING ROUHANI INHERITS FROM KHOMEINI IS A LESSON IN PRAGMATISM

PREVIOUS PAGES: POLARIS; THESE PAGES: NEWSHA TAVAKOLIAN—POLARIS FOR TIME (3)

almost everyone pointed out that the decision, one way or another, should be left to the Iranians. No one, but no one, wanted to go to war over it.

We sat down with the editor of *Kayhan*, Tehran's most hard-line newspaper, a lean man with a short beard and a sharp pinstriped suit. Hossein Shariatmadari's card identifies him first as "Supreme Leader's Representative" and then as president of the Kayhan Group of Newspapers & Publications. Like many, Shariatmadari was bitter about the U.S.-led sanctions. "Sanctions are a sham," he said. "What do you want from us? America wants to take our Islam away. They want separation of church and state. Islam itself is against tyranny, and they want to take our identity away." Would someone like Rouhani change the status quo? Shariatmadari smiled and said, "Reformers are people seeking changes within the framework of the system. Not seeking to subvert the system."

In 2009, Iran's young people were trying to reform the system in their enthusiastic support of presidential candidates Mir-Hossein Mousavi and Mehdi Karroubi. But when incumbent Ahmadinejad was declared the victor with more than 60% of the vote, even before the polls closed, many gave up on democracy. We found young men and women more than disillusioned with politics; they seemed to want to subvert the system. One young couple we spoke with at a polling station on election day were there to urge their friends not to vote. That's one reason Rouhani's victory, fueled in part by the support of young people, came as a surprise to so many. "The memories of 2009 are still too strong," said a 21-year-old poet who gave only his first name, Khoshrow. "We voted, and our votes were not heard. We complained of fraud, and our complaints were not heard. When our government does not listen, why should we bother to speak? I will not vote for a system that closes its ears to my voice."

Yet a last-minute get-out-the-vote campaign promoted by candidates, activists and even Iran's Supreme Leader, Ayatullah Ali Khamenei, resulted in a turnout of more than 75%, similar to what it was the last time a moderate was voted into power, Mohammed Khatami in 1997. It's

Democracy's detritus *Leaflets and campaign paraphernalia litter the grounds of Heidarnia Stadi*

in Tehran after a rally just days before the presidential vote on June 14

NEWSHA TAVAKOLIAN—POLARIS FOR TIME

an indication, perhaps, that the majority of Iran's electorate still yearns for reform.

Reform, Not Revolution

WESTERNERS WERE GLAD TO HEAR ROUhani's call for a nuanced approach to nuclear negotiations; Iranians were delighted with his promise to release political prisoners and improve relations with the rest of the world. But as President he will have little power to change the direction of the country's nuclear policy. That lies solely under the purview of the Supreme Leader, Khomeini's enigmatic and volatile successor. But the fact that Khamenei allowed a reformist to succeed this time around is an indication that Iran's hard-line stance of the past eight years may begin to soften.

Iranians are adamant that they would not be willing to compromise their right to peaceful nuclear power, no matter how hard the sanctions bite. But there is a universal desire to find a middle way, one that lets Iran keep its program online while preventing further isolation. "We don't want to be another North Korea," said political activist Kian Rezaaei. "But we can't be pushed backward either." She was passing out flyers at a get-out-the-vote rally just a few days before the election. We asked how she would prevent Iran from going the North Korean route. She held up a poster of Rouhani. "We vote," she said. "Democracy is the only way to make change. Not revolution."

Rouhani, like the cleric in Qum, was an early follower of Khomeini's. In the days before the revolution, they shared hardship and exile. After the revolution, he watched Khomeini craft a unique form of government in which a religious leader for life shares power with a President elected by the people. It is, at times, an ungainly arrangement, one that will likely check Rouhani's attempts at real reform both in the domestic realm and in foreign policy. But the most important thing he inherits from Khomeini is a lesson in pragmatism. Khomeini learned how costly ideological inflexibility can be: his eight-year war with Saddam Hussein's Iraq in the 1980s brought Iran to its knees before the imam sued for peace. Blind service to dogma, Khomeini eventually found, does no good: not in war, not in religion and not when it comes to negotiating a country's place in the world. ■

THE FACE OF BUDDHIST TERROR

It's a faith famous for its pacifism and tolerance. But in several of Asia's Buddhist-majority nations, monks are inciting bigotry and violence—mostly against Muslims

BY HANNAH BEECH/MEIKHTILA, BURMA, AND PATTANI, THAILAND

HIS FACE AS STILL AND SERENE AS A STATUE'S, the Buddhist monk who has taken the title "the Burmese bin Laden" begins his sermon. Hundreds of worshippers sit before him, palms pressed together, sweat trickling down their sticky backs. On cue, the crowd chants with the man in burgundy robes, the mantras drifting through the sultry air of a temple in Mandalay, Burma's second biggest city after Rangoon. It seems a peaceful scene, but Wirathu's message crackles with hate. "Now is not the time for calm," the monk intones, as he spends 90 minutes describing the many ways in which he detests the minority Muslims in this Buddhist-majority land. "Now is the time to rise up, to make your blood boil."

Buddhist blood is boiling in Burma, also known as Myanmar—and plenty of Muslim blood is being spilled. Over the past year, Buddhist mobs have targeted members of the minority faith, and incendiary rhetoric from Wirathu—he goes by one name—and other hard-line monks is fanning the flames of religious chauvinism. Scores of Muslims have been killed, according to government statistics, although international human-rights workers put the number in the hundreds. Much of the violence is directed at the Rohingya, a largely stateless Muslim group in Burma's far west that the U.N. calls one of the world's most persecuted people. The communal bloodshed has spread to central Burma, where Wirathu, 46, lives and preaches his virulent sermons. The radical monk sees Muslims, who make up at least 5% of Burma's estimated 60 million people, as a threat to the country and its culture. "[Muslims] are breeding so fast, and they are stealing our women, raping them," he tells me. "They would like to occupy our country, but I won't let them. We must keep Myanmar Buddhist."

Such hate speech threatens the delicate political ecosystem in a country peopled by at least 135 ethnic groups that has only recently been unshackled from nearly half a century of military rule. Already some government officials are calling for

Photographs by Adam Dean for TIME

Burmese bin Laden
Wirathu views Islam as a threat to his country's culture and appears to be encouraging violence against Muslims

implementation of a ban, rarely enforced during the military era, on Rohingya women's bearing more than two children. And many Christians in the country's north say recent fighting between the Burmese military and Kachin insurgents, who are mostly Christian, was exacerbated by the widening religious divide.

Radical Buddhism is thriving in other parts of Asia too. This year in Sri Lanka, Buddhist nationalist groups with links to high-ranking officialdom have gained prominence, with monks helping orchestrate the destruction of Muslim and Christian property. And in Thailand's deep south, where a Muslim insurgency has claimed some 5,000 lives since 2004, the Thai army trains civilian militias and often accompanies Buddhist monks when they leave their temples. The commingling of soldiers and monks—some of whom have armed themselves—only heightens the alienation felt by Thailand's minority Muslims.

Although each nation's history dictates the course radical Buddhism has taken within its borders, growing access to the Internet means that prejudice and rumors are instantly inflamed with each Facebook post or tweet. Violence can easily spill across borders. In Malaysia, where hundreds of thousands of Burmese migrants work, several Buddhist Burmese were killed in June—likely in retribution, Malaysian authorities say, for the deaths of Muslims back in Burma.

In the reckoning of religious extremism—Hindu nationalists, Muslim militants, fundamentalist Christians, ultra-Orthodox Jews—Buddhism has largely escaped trial. To much of the world, it is synonymous with nonviolence and loving kindness, concepts propagated by Siddhartha Gautama, the Buddha, 2,500 years ago. But like adherents of any other religion, Buddhists and their holy men are not immune to politics and, on occasion, the lure of sectarian chauvinism. When Asia rose up against empire and oppression, Buddhist monks, with their moral command and plentiful numbers, led anticolonial movements. Some starved themselves for their cause, their sunken flesh and protruding ribs underlining their sacrifice for the laity. Perhaps most iconic is the image of Thich Quang Duc, a Vietnamese monk sitting in the lotus position, wrapped in flames, as he burned to death in Saigon while protesting the repressive South Vietnamese regime 50 years ago. In 2007, Buddhist monks led a foiled democratic uprising in Burma: images of columns of clerics bearing upturned alms bowls, marching peacefully in protest against the junta, earned sympathy around the world, if not from the soldiers who slaughtered them. But where does political activism end and political militancy begin? Every religion can be twisted into a destructive force poisoned by ideas that are antithetical to its foundations. Now it's Buddhism's turn.

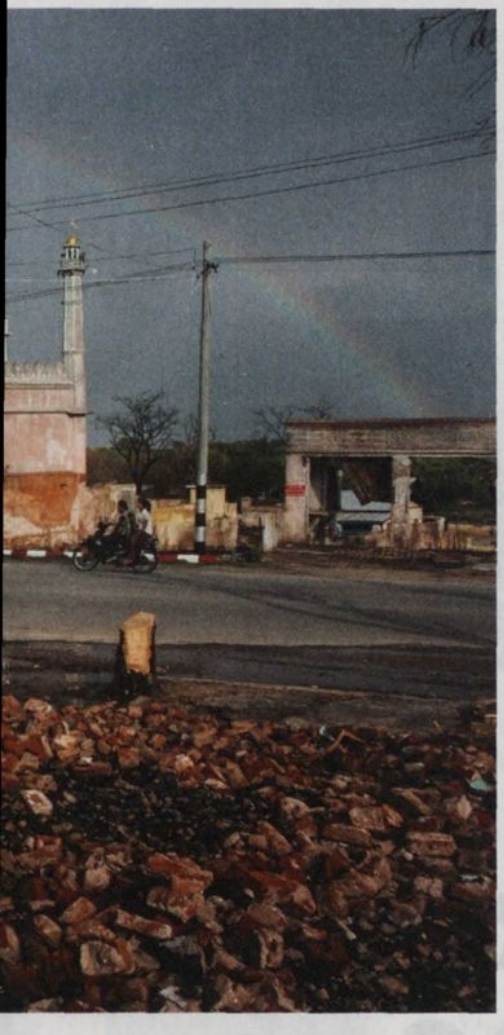
Aftermath *The Muslim quarter in Meikhtila, where Buddhist mobs raged for days*

Mantra of Hate

SITTING CROSS-LEGGED ON A RAISED PLATform at the New Masoeyein monastery in Mandalay, next to a wall covered by life-size portraits of himself, the Burmese bin Laden expounds on his worldview. U.S. President Barack Obama has "been tainted by black Muslim blood." Arabs have hijacked the U.N., he believes, although he sees no irony in linking his name to that of an Arab terrorist. About 90% of Muslims in Burma are "radical, bad people," says Wirathu, who was jailed for seven years for his role in inciting anti-Muslim pogroms in 2003. He now leads a movement called 969—the figure represents various attributes of the Buddha—which calls on Buddhists to fraternize only among themselves and shun people of other faiths. "Taking care of our own religion and race is more important than democracy," says Wirathu.

It would be easy to dismiss Wirathu as an outlier with little doctrinal basis for his bigotry. But he is charismatic and powerful, and his message resonates. Among the country's majority Bamar ethnic group, as well as across Buddhist parts of Asia, there's a vague sense that their religion is under siege—that Islam, having centuries ago conquered the Buddhist lands of Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan and Afghanistan, now seeks new territory. Even without proof, Buddhist nationalists stoke fears that local Muslim populations are increasing faster than their own, and

PREVIOUS PAGE: PANOS; THESE PAGES: ADAM DEAN—PANOS FOR TIME



they worry about Middle Eastern money pouring in to build new mosques.

In Burma, the democratization process that began in 2011 with the junta's giving way to a quasi-civilian government has also allowed extremist voices to proliferate. The trouble began last year in the far west, where machete-wielding Buddhist hordes attacked Rohingya villages; 70 Muslims were slaughtered in a daylong massacre in one hamlet, according to Human Rights Watch. The government has done little to check the violence, which has since migrated to other parts of the country. In late March, the central town of Meikhtila burned for days, with entire Muslim quarters razed by Buddhist mobs after a monk was killed by Muslims. (The official death toll: two Buddhists and at least 40 Muslims.) Thousands of Muslims are still crammed into refugee camps that journalists are forbidden to enter. In the shadow of a burned-down mosque, I was able to meet the family of Abdul Razak Shahban, one of at least 20 students at a local Islamic school who were killed. "My son was killed because he was Muslim, nothing else," Razak's mother Rahamabi told me.

BUDDHISM: THE BASICS

THE EARTHLY DIMENSIONS OF THE WORLD'S FOURTH LARGEST FAITH

2,500 years old

Buddhists seek to reach a state of nirvana, following the path of the Buddha, Siddhartha Gautama, who attained enlightenment sometime around the 6th century B.C.

488 million

NUMBER OF BUDDHISTS WORLDWIDE

Christianity	2.2 billion
Islam	1.6 billion
Hinduism	1 billion
Buddhism	488 million

THREE MAIN TRADITIONS

WORLD BUDDHIST POPULATIONS

Sources: Pew Research Center; Asia Society; UNESCO; Buddhist Society; Buddhanet; Kenneth W. Morgan; Damien Keown; David Leemin; John Bowker

Temple and State

IN THE DEEP SOUTH OF BURMA'S NEIGHBOR Thailand, it is the Buddhists who complain of being targeted for their faith. This part of the country used to be part of a Malay sultanate before staunchly Buddhist Thailand annexed it early last century, and Muslims make up at least 80% of the population. Since a separatist insurgency intensified in 2004, many Buddhists have been targeted because their positions—such as teachers, soldiers and government workers—are linked with the Thai state. Dozens of monks have been attacked too. Now the Buddhists have overwhelming superiority in arms: the Thai military and other security forces have moved into the wat, as Thai Buddhist temples are known.

If Buddhists feel more protected by the presence of soldiers in their temples, it sends quite another signal to the Muslim population. "[The] state is wedding religion to the military," says Michael Jerryson, an assistant professor of religious studies at Youngstown State University in Ohio and author of a book about Buddhism's role in the southern-Thailand conflict. Muslims too are scared: more of them have perished in the violence than Buddhists. (By proportion of population, more Buddhists have died, however.) Yet Buddhists are the ones who receive the greater state protection, and I listen to monk after monk heighten tensions by telling me that Muslims are using mosques to store weapons or that every imam carries a gun. "Islam is a religion of violence," says Phratong Jiratamo, a former marine turned monk in the town of Pattani. "Everyone knows this."

It's a sentiment the Burmese bin Laden would endorse. I ask Wirathu how he reconciles the peaceful sutras of his faith with the anti-Muslim violence spreading across his Bamar-majority homeland. "In Buddhism, we are not allowed to go on the offensive," he tells me, as if he is lecturing a child. "But we have every right to protect and defend our community." Later, as he preaches to an evening crowd, I listen to him compel smiling housewives, students, teachers, grandmothers and others to repeat after him, "I will sacrifice myself for the Bamar race." It's hard to imagine that the Buddha would have approved. ■

NATION

THE HORROR UPSTAIRS

THE LARGEST KNOWN MASSACRE OF GAY PEOPLE IN U.S. HISTORY REMAINS UNSOLVED AND LITTLE UNDERSTOOD

BY ELIZABETH DIAS WITH JIM DOWNS

FRANCIS DUFRENE LIVED FOR SUNDAY NIGHTS. TALL AND LEAN with a pile of blond hair, the 21-year-old would take two buses from his home in the New Orleans suburbs to make it to the Upstairs Lounge by 5 p.m., when the French Quarter bar held its weekly beer bust—two hours of all-you-can-drink drafts for $1.

From the outside, the Upstairs didn't look much different from the other gay bars on a particularly seedy stretch of Iberville Street. But up 13 steps on the second floor was a refuge: three adjoining rooms, decorated with red wallpaper and frilly curtains, where people could laugh, love, even worship without fear. The Metropolitan Community Church (MCC), a national Christian denomination founded to serve gays and lesbians, often held services in the bar's back-room theater. At other times the space was used for the elaborately costumed drag cabaret performances that regulars called "nelly dramas." "It was my safe haven," says Dufrene.

Inferno *Thirty-two people were killed in the Upstairs Lounge blaze. The Rev. Bill Larson's body was visible in the window for hours*

The beer bust on June 24, 1973, was typically festive. A pianist from the nearby Marriott played Broadway and ragtime tunes as patrons sang along. Dufrene was there, as usual, this time on a first date with Eddie Hosea Warren, a "husky country boy" he met at a hamburger joint near the Upstairs. Warren's brother James and mother Inez came with him. Duane George Mitchell, an associate pastor at the MCC known for his Queen Victoria impersonation, and his partner Louis Horace Broussard stopped by after dropping Mitchell's sons off at a movie. The bust prices ended at 7, but at least 65 people were still hanging around nearly an hour later when the door buzzer went off. It kept ringing, even though no one had ordered a taxi. The bartender sent a regular to check it out. When he opened the door, a fireball burst through as if shot from a flamethrower.

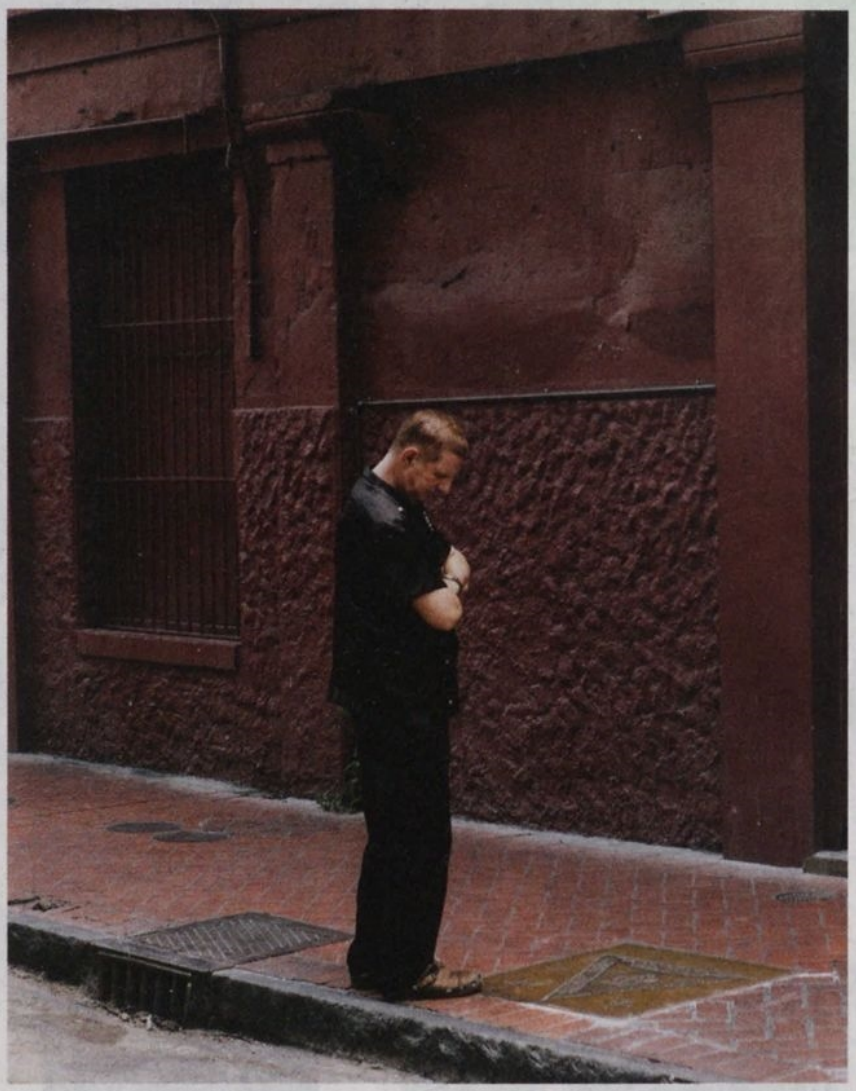
An updraft sucked the fire in, and within seconds the walls were aflame. Panic erupted inside. The bartender, Douglas "Buddy" Rasmussen, called for people to follow him and led at least 20 of them to safety through a back exit and onto adjoining rooftops—before closing the door behind them when he didn't see anyone else coming to prevent the fire from spreading. Many raced to jump out of the three large windows that were covered by metal bars. Dufrene was one of the few who squeezed through, body on fire.

"The small people seemed to get through the window, but the bigger people just couldn't get out," a survivor told the New Orleans *Times-Picayune.*

One of those trapped was the MCC's pastor, Bill Larson, who struggled to push an air-conditioning unit through the window to escape. His head, torso and one arm made it halfway out before the glass pane above collapsed, trapping his body. In the street below, his friends heard him scream, "Oh, God, no!" as flames consumed him. His body was left in the window for hours, with his watch, stopped at a few minutes after 8, a haunting relic.

And then it was over. Firefighters extinguished the blaze 16 minutes after receiving the alarm. Twenty-nine people burned alive that night; three more died soon after. Many could be identified only by dental records. A *Times-Picayune* headline called the scene "Hitler's Incinerators." But it made little more than a ripple in the national consciousness. Neither the mayor nor the governor spoke out, local religious leaders were mostly silent, and only one congregation in the French Quarter ultimately agreed to hold a memorial service. A two-month police investigation turned up a can of lighter fluid at the scene and a thrown-out patron overheard threatening to "burn this place down," but no one was ever prosecuted. Dufrene puts it bluntly: "I guess they figured, They were gay—so what?"

The scale of the tragedy was immense: it remains the deadliest fire ever in New Orleans and is believed to be the largest killing of gay people in U.S. history. And yet it is little discussed, barely acknowledged by the city or seen as a milestone in the gay-rights movement. Today the site is marked only by a square brass plaque on the sidewalk where the bar's entrance used to be. It's easy to miss unless you're looking for it—a fitting commemoration for an event not everyone wants to remember.



Survivor *For the first time, Dufrene visits the memorial plaque at the foot of the stairwell where the fire began*

Persecution Days

THE JOKES BEGAN ALMOST IMMEDIATELY. The Rev. Troy Perry, founder of the MCC, flew in the morning after the fire and remembers a radio host asking on air, "What do we bury them in?" The punch line: "Fruit jars." The police department's chief of detectives reinforced the homophobic climate when he told reporters that identifying the bodies would be tough because many patrons carried fake

identification and "some thieves hung out there, and you know this was a queer bar."

Despite the city's reputation for tolerance, there were consequences to being gay there in 1973. One victim, a teacher, was fired while in critical care at Charity Hospital after his school learned that he had been at the bar. He died days later from burns. Many of those killed and injured were effectively outed when the papers published lists of the victims. Two survivors appeared on television on the condition that their names and faces would not be revealed. Others had to go to work on Monday morning as if nothing happened.

Duane Mitchell, then 11, and his 8-year-old brother Steve knew something was wrong when their father never came to pick them up. They watched a movie, Disney's *The World's Greatest Athlete*, seven times before realizing he wouldn't show, Duane says. Mitchell had escaped the blaze by following Rasmussen out the back door, but he ran back in to retrieve Broussard. Police found their bodies fused together, dead in each other's arms. "We didn't even know that he was gay," Duane, now 51, says of his father. In 1973, he adds, such things were barely discussed. "A lot of people didn't even claim their relatives," he said. "I guess they were so ashamed of it."

When Perry tried to find a site to hold the memorial, churches closed their doors. New Orleans was then 47% Catholic, but the archdiocese refused to help. Baptist churches hung up on him. An Episcopal church led by a friend of Larson's held a prayer service but declined to host the memorial after the presiding bishop received dozens of angry phone calls and letters of protest. "It was like that over and over again," Perry, now 72, says. "My biggest disappointment as a Christian minister to this day was the churches, the way they responded to me."

Just months earlier, two less deadly fires in New Orleans received far more attention. In November, six died in a blaze at the Rault Center, and eight died in a January arson at a downtown Howard Johnson's. In both cases, Mayor Moon Landrieu and Governor Edwin Edwards issued statements of condolence. Philip Hannan, the city's powerful Catholic archbishop who eulogized President John F. Kennedy and Senator Robert Kennedy and later presided over Jacqueline Onassis' funeral, offered his support. After the Upstairs fire, Hannan was silent, while public officials limited their statements to calls for improving the city's fire code.

Horror in the Quarter *Outside, firefighters put out the blaze and rushed victims to Charity Hospital. Inside, they found bodies in piles, fused together by the flames*

For the gay community, Larson's mannequin-like body, which remained visible in the window past midnight, became a symbol of the city's indifference toward them. Given that reception, it's understandable why so many were skeptical of the police investigation.

A Trail Runs Cold

HOMICIDE DETECTIVES INTERVIEWED SURvivors at Charity Hospital shortly after the fire was put out. They spent nearly 12 hours on the scene and soon had more than 50 officers assigned to the case. Witness accounts were conflicting, which was not surprising given that many people were badly injured, traumatized and still drunk, but those who saw the fire erupt all used language consistent with arson to describe it—one compared it to a fireball, another to a Molotov cocktail. Police found an accelerant: a 7-oz. can of Ronsonal lighter fluid, left empty in the stairwell. A clerk at a nearby Walgreens said someone purchased an identical can of lighter fluid not long before the fire started, but she could not identify the person.

The investigation lasted two months. At the end of a 64-page report issued in August, the department concluded, "Although there is speculation of arson, as of the writing of this report, there is no physical evidence to indicate anything other than this being a fire of undetermined origin." The coroner classified all 32 deaths as "accidental fire fatalities." Three bodies were never identified. Sam Gebbia, then 26, was a lead investigator on the case. He says today that the chief of detectives' inflammatory statement about the Upstairs patrons was taken out of context (the department apologized soon after) and that the police put its full weight behind the case. "In my whole experience in the homicide division, that never played into anything," he says. "That was one of the biggest multideaths that I had ever been on the scene of. We pulled out every stop."

A teenager, David Dubose, confessed to the fire but quickly recanted. He was cleared after his alibi was confirmed, and he passed a polygraph test.

The police focused on a second suspect, Roger Nunez, who was kicked out of the bar before the fire after fighting with another patron, according to the statement that patron, Michael Scarborough, gave to the police. On his way out, Nunez said

PREVIOUS PAGES, FROM LEFT: COURTESY JOHNNY TOWNSEND; RONNIE LEBOEUF—THE STATES-ITEM/THE TIMES-PICAYUNE/LANDOV; THESE PAGES, CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: DAYMON GARDNER FOR TIME; GERALD E. ARNOLD—THE TIMES-PICAYUNE/LANDOV; RONNIE LEBOEUF—AP; RONNIE LEBOEUF—THE TIMES-PICAYUNE/LANDOV; JACK THORNELL—AP

"something to the effect of 'I'm going to burn this place down,' or 'I'm going to burn you out,'" Scarborough told police.

But before the police could interview Nunez, he had a seizure and was taken to Charity Hospital. He was admitted to the hospital and released without the police being notified. It took months for police to find him, and once they did, he denied setting the fire and said he wasn't sure if he had even been at the Upstairs that night. Nunez killed himself nearly a year later. People who knew him claimed he had confessed to a nun and also, while drunk, to a friend that he started the fire.

Gebbia says many arson investigations are easy to solve but hard to prove. "There are a lot of times you'll know, you as an investigator will know what happened, and you know who did it. But legally, if you don't have any teeth to sink in to arrest someone, you just have to wait," he says. "I'm sure in my heart of hearts this is the guy that set our fire."

A Place to Pray

A WEEK PASSED BEFORE PERRY FINALLY found a church willing to hold the memorial—St. Mark's United Methodist Church. It was a brave move; the year before the Methodist denomination had decreed that homosexuality was "incompatible with Christian teaching." The day of the service, Perry promised mourners that their identities would be safe—he would not allow cameras inside the church. Midway through the final hymn, someone alerted him that television crews had set up outside. He offered mourners the chance to leave through a rear door to escape notice, but no one accepted. Then, as the *Times-Picayune* reported, "the mourners sang the last verse of the hymn over again and, with the existence of press cameras outside the church still in doubt, they all filed out. None was seen leaving through the rear."

That moment helped launch a new gay religious movement. The MCC was only five years old, but the Upstairs fire was the third fire in an MCC meeting place that year—arson had leveled the headquarters in Los Angeles, and a firebomb had torched a church in Nashville. Yet Perry continued to start other churches. Gay Christians needed a place to worship, he argued. "They could hurt us, they could murder us, we could die," Perry recalls telling his fledgling congregations. "But as Christians, we have to remember this Scripture, 'To be absent from this body is to be present with the Lord, so we can never fear death.' No matter what happens, this is serious, and we are not going to stop our struggle in this fight."

Those were what Perry calls the church's "persecution days." Perry helped organize a fund for the Upstairs victims. Small checks came in from tiny gay organizations all over the country, from big cities like San Francisco to small towns in South Dakota. Morty Manford, whose mother had founded PFLAG—Parents, Families and Friends of Lesbians and Gays—just two months earlier, flew to meet Perry in New Orleans to help. So did Morris Kight, president of the Gay Liberation Front, and two other clergy.

An Apology

FORTY YEARS LATER, MUCH HAS CHANGED. Today the Episcopal Church, the Presbyterian Church (USA), the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America and the Unitarian Universalist Church all ordain gay clergy. "I praise God more and more every day," Perry says. "We still have a battle there, there's still a fight going on, based on women and GLBT people, but we are going to win, and I know we are, and that's that." Yet even today, the fire is too difficult for many survivors to discuss. Many of those touched by the Upstairs fire were not militants for the gay-rights cause but just innocent victims. Rasmussen left New Orleans in 1991 for rural Arkansas, where he lives quietly with his partner Billy Duncan. They will soon celebrate their 40th anniversary, and they spend their time growing vegetables, volunteering at food banks and enjoying a simple life on their back porch. Warm but guarded, Rasmussen declines to talk about the fire. When history is written, he says, "they should leave that chapter out."

To its credit, the Catholic archdiocese apologized for its silence on the fire in a statement to TIME. "In retrospect, if we did not release a statement we should have to be in solidarity with the victims and their families," New Orleans Archbishop Gregory Aymond said via e-mail on June 17. "The church does not condone violence and hatred. If we did not extend our care and condolences, I deeply apologize."

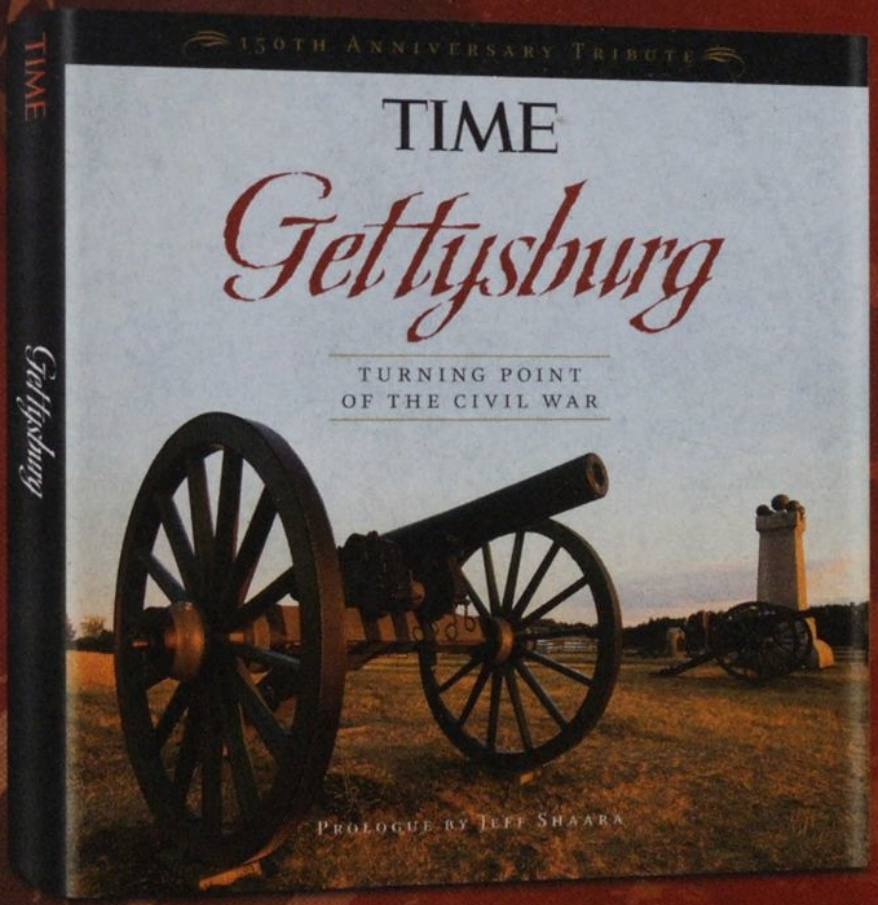
As for Dufrene, he still lives in the same small house where he was born and where he recovered from the fire. He now attends Harahan Baptist Church and says that while he identifies as gay, he has left the gay community. The fire, he admits, didn't start the gay revolution. "That was coming anyway," he says. But he says it helped to give gays in New Orleans a voice they didn't have before.

It is easy to forget that the GLBT movement is still young in the long arc of U.S. history. Events like the Stonewall riots have entered the canon while other, equally significant moments are little known. As Harvey Milk said not long before his assassination in San Francisco in 1978, "A reading of the Declaration of Independence on the steps of a building is widely covered. The events that started the American Revolution were the meetings in homes, pubs, on street corners." In a month that marks a potentially landmark Supreme Court ruling on same-sex marriage, the little-known and long-forgotten fire at the Upstairs is one such event. ■

FROM THE STREET BELOW, THE PASTOR'S FRIENDS COULD HEAR HIM SCREAM, 'OH, GOD, NO!' AS THE FLAMES CONSUMED HIS BODY

Downs is an associate professor of history at Connecticut College

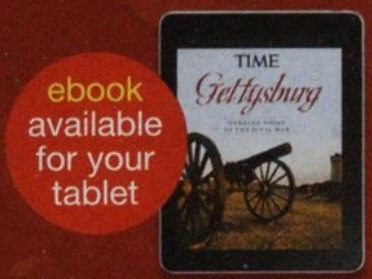
WHEN HISTORY WAS MADE



TIME Celebrates the 150th Anniversary of the Civil War's Critical Battle

This 192-page book includes:

- Detailed accounts of the three days at battle
- A rich 6-page panoramic visual of the conflict
- Original essays by Jeff Shaara, James M. Mcpherson, Drew Gilpin Faust, Ric Burns and David Von Drehle



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Around 0500,
John and his unit went out on patrol.
At 0830, something happened.
Now, it's time to talk about it.
Give an Hour
Give help | Give hope
Healing is an unalienable right.
We provide free and confidential mental health services
for military personnel, veterans and their loved ones, for as long as needed.
So if you think it's time to take action, contact us.
www.giveanhour.org
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Turrell's *Aten Reign* at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York City
PAGE 56

The Culture

54 POP CHART *Simpsons* sneakers / **56 ART** James Turrell's light show
59 TELEVISION *Catfish* returns / **60 TECH** Cars that steer you to safety

DAVID HEALD—SOLOMON R. GUGGENHEIM FOUNDATION; © JAMES TURRELL

Pop Chart

KICKSTARTER EDITION

GOOD WEEK/ BAD WEEK

Veronica Mars
Three more former cast members signed on to the Kickstarter-funded movie

Zosia Mamet
Only 80 people backed the *Girls* star's dream of making a music video for her track "Bleak Love"

FAST FOOD

Buns on A Roll

White Castle is joining the food-truck trend. Two "Crave Mobiles" will serve the brand's signature square sliders alongside new products like salty caramel fries. The burger vehicles will be available for special events like weddings. No word on whether Harold and Kumar plan on crashing.

BRANDING

160+

Number of applications submitted to become CEO of yoga-apparel company Lululemon after it posted a fake job opening on its website. Among the perks listed: "You report to no one, you are the CEO (duh)."

FASHION FORWARD

To chart the future of fashion, it helps to look at the recent past. This summer, the Seattle Art Museum will host "Future Beauty: 30 Years of Japanese Fashion" (June 27–Sept. 8). More than 100 garments, some never before seen in the U.S., will be on display, including this bushy creation, a sort of wearable haystack, by Hokuto Katsui and Nao Yagi.

TRENDING

Miss Utah

Marissa Powell, 21, will live on in Internet infamy after botching her reply to a question at the Miss USA pageant about unequal pay for women, telling judges that the U.S. needs to "create education better"

QUICK TALK

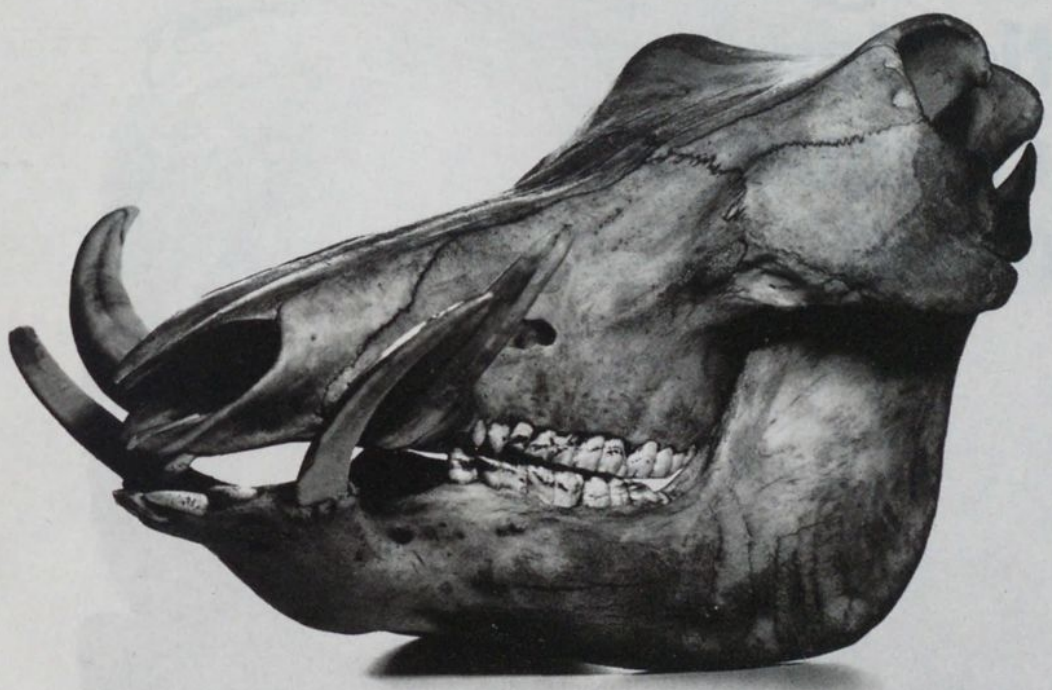
Mireille Enos

She investigates monsters of the human variety as Sarah Linden on *The Killing*, which returned on June 2 for its third season on AMC. But now Enos has to deal with a different kind of bad guy. In *World War Z* (June 21), the actress, 37, comes up against a major zombie problem. Here, she talks with TIME. —LILY ROTHMAN

Are you a big zombie-movie fan? This is my first-ever zombie movie, even to see. **Ever?** I've never seen a zombie movie before. **Did that mean you had to do a lot of research for the part?** No. Pretty much they're scary dudes in crazy makeup chasing me, so I just run. My character doesn't know what they are either. **I had this whole question for you about zombies walking vs. running.** I know that we have the fastest-moving zombies. Most zombies are logy, right? They're slow and dumb? Not ours. **It's a controversial topic among zombie fans—how fast they move.** We do give an explanation for why they're fast and when they slow down. **Are you generally not a horror-movie fan?** I'm a fan of action movies. I try to avoid the supergory stuff. **But I guess it's not scary during filming.** You do have, like, 30 people around you. But there are still moments. **Are you easily scared?** *Very* easily. And it sticks with me. I can't shake it, and I think about it for days. **And yet, between *World War Z* and *The Killing*, that's a lot of suspense ...** It's true. They're really dark stories. **Have you developed any tricks for dealing with fear?** It definitely has gotten easier since having a baby, because I just go straight into her world—*Monsters Inc.* and *Cars*. That helps.

By Nick Carbone, Kelly Conniff, Eliana Dockterman, Nate Rawlings and Lily Rothman

BELL: C FLANIGAN—GETTY IMAGES; ILLUSTRATION: BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME; MINTDESIGNS; TAISHI HIROKAWA—COLLECTION OF THE KYOTO COSTUME INSTITUTE/COURTESY SEATTLE ART MUSEUM; WARTHOG: IRVING PENN—COURTESY HAMILTONS GALLERY; CAREY: FREDERICK M. BROWN—GETTY IMAGES; ENOS: JENNIFER GRAYLOCK—GETTY IMAGES; POWELL: ETHAN MILLER—GETTY IMAGES; TRUCK: WHITE CASTLE; MAMET: GARETH CATTERMOLE—GETTY IMAGES

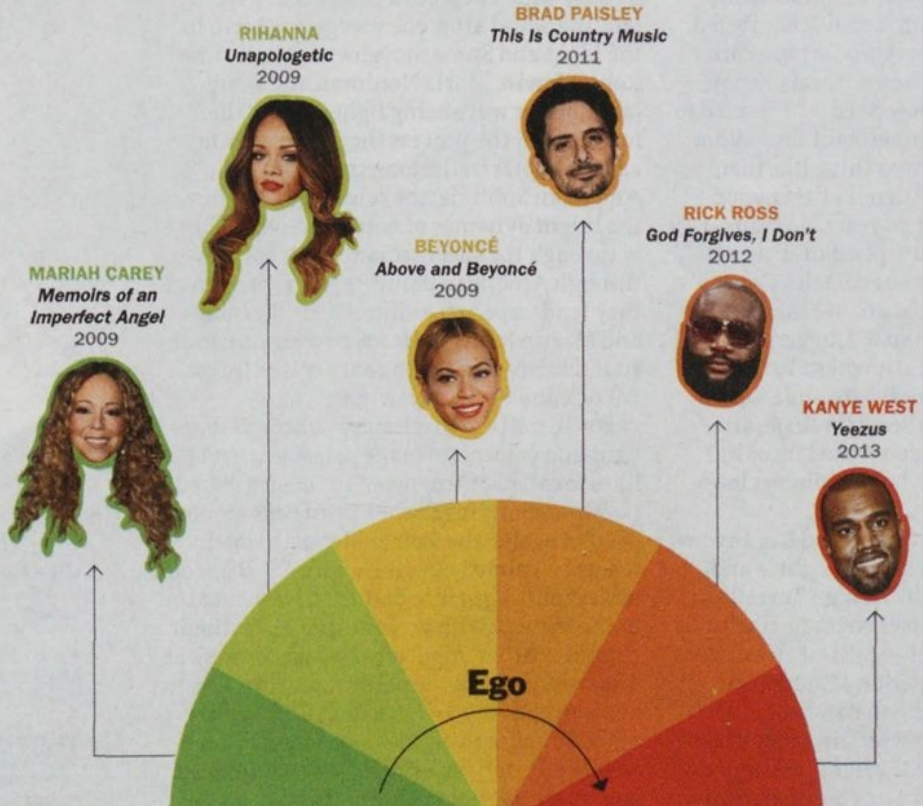


BARE-BONES ACCOUNT *Stark black and white. Models in angular poses. These were hallmarks of the work of the late Irving Penn, who cast his keen eye on notables from Winston Churchill to Nicole Kidman. But those words could also describe the still-life images in his* Cranium Architecture *series, a stripped-down look at the contours of animal skulls, at London's Hamiltons Gallery through Sept. 13. In* Warthog, *above, the only detail missing is a piercing gaze—for obvious reasons.*

MUSIC

Album-Title Ego Meter

Jay Z's latest album—*Magna Carta Holy Grail*, dropping July 4—has been widely mocked for its pompous moniker. ("A better title would be 'Ego Instead of Songs,'" quipped one Twitter user.) But he's hardly the first musical ego-ffender. Here, we rank six more over-the-top titles.



KICKIN' IT

A Simpson With Sole

Converse, shoe of the counterculture, has a fitting new poster child: Bart Simpson. The rebellious 'toon boy and members of his family appear on a line of Chuck Taylors. Bart, Homer and Lisa have big shoes to fill: previous lines starred Batman and the Ramones. *Ay, caramba!*

3 THINGS YOU DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT THIS WEEK

1. Dynastic succession. Roll out the red karpet and welcome the new baby daughter of Kanye West and Kim Kardashian.

2. The truth behind that whole *super* thing. The *Superman* update *Man of Steel* had the biggest June opening weekend ever, raking in over $125 million (counting Thursday-night screenings).

3. The continued relevance of Myspace. The decade-old social-media site—now partly owned by Justin Timberlake—relaunched with a music-focused design.

FOR REVIEWS OF *WORLD WAR Z* AND *MONSTERS UNIVERSITY*, VISIT **time.com/movies**

SHOE: CONVERSE; WEST: LARRY BUSACCA—GETTY IMAGES; ROSS: CHARLES ESHELMAN—GETTY IMAGES; PAISLEY: RICK DIAMOND—GETTY IMAGES; BEYONCÉ: STEVE GRANITZ—GETTY IMAGES; RIHANNA: STEVE GRANITZ—GETTY IMAGES;

Prince of Light

How artist James Turrell conquered the heavens

By Richard Lacayo

FOR ALMOST FIVE DECADES JAMES TURRELL has been making art that's literally impossible to grasp. He works with "materials"—light, sky, perception itself—that are weightless and boundless, the stuff of the sublime and the infinite. His most famous work, the immensity-in-progress that is *Roden Crater*, is nothing less than an extinct volcanic cone in northern Arizona that Turrell, 70, has spent decades transforming into a multichambered, naked-eye celestial observatory, an enterprise so hilariously vast, it's like a natural phenomenon itself. As he once described it, "I wanted to really work with large amounts of sky." What other artist could even say a thing like that?

So it feels right that Turrell's first major retrospective in almost 30 years is a transcontinental event, taking place in three cities simultaneously: the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, the Museum of Fine Arts in Houston and the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York City, where Turrell has filled the entire massive rotunda with a single glowing work called *Aten Reign*, after the Egyptian sun-disk deity. Not since God said "Let there be light" has anyone set loose so much of it.

But it may be that not since God has anyone given so much thought to what light is and what can be done with it. Though Turrell's art doesn't insist on, or even encourage, spiritual interpretation, some of his earliest encounters with the idea of illumination came by way of his Quaker upbringing in Pasadena, Calif. The Quaker way of characterizing meditation as "going inside to greet the light" intrigued him. And as a native of sunny Southern California, he knew all about the light outside. Painting had always been in large part about the representation of light. Turrell wanted to drink from the tap. At art-history slide lectures at Pomona College in the early 1960s, he was as fascinated by the beam from the projector as he was by the slides. Maybe more.

He wasn't alone. By the time he graduated in 1965 with a degree in perceptual psychology, the SoCal art scene was giving birth to the Light and Space movement. Artists like Robert Irwin, Maria Nordman and Douglas Wheeler were using light itself as their medium. In the process they were writing a new chapter in the long tradition of the American Sublime, the sense of awe before the bright dynamos of nature, conveyed largely through the sheer radiance that courses through American painting from 19th century landscape artists like Albert Bierstadt and Martin Johnson Heade to wide-screen abstractionists of the 20th century like Jackson Pollock and Barnett Newman.

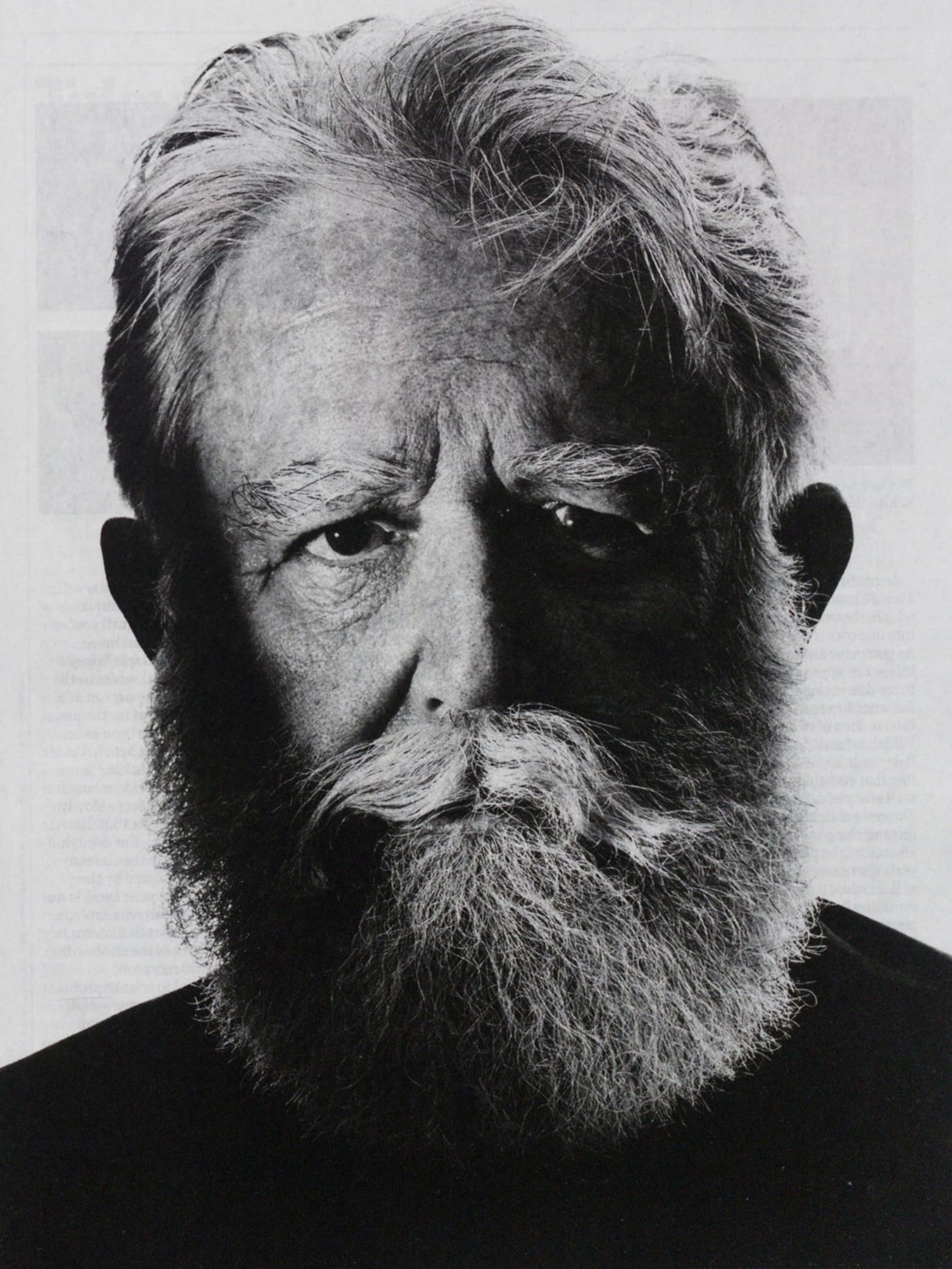
For Turrell the first issue was how to shape light into volume, to make palpable what he likes to call its "thingness." In 1966 he rented a two-story building in the Ocean Park section of Los Angeles, the former Mendota Hotel, where he painted over the windows so he could project pure light into darkness. He wanted to experiment with ways to offer an aesthetic experience that might also be a philosophical proposition about the nature of reality, illusion and perception: To what extent is the visual world simply a thing fashioned by consciousness? As Turrell once put it, "The world is not one we receive but one we create."

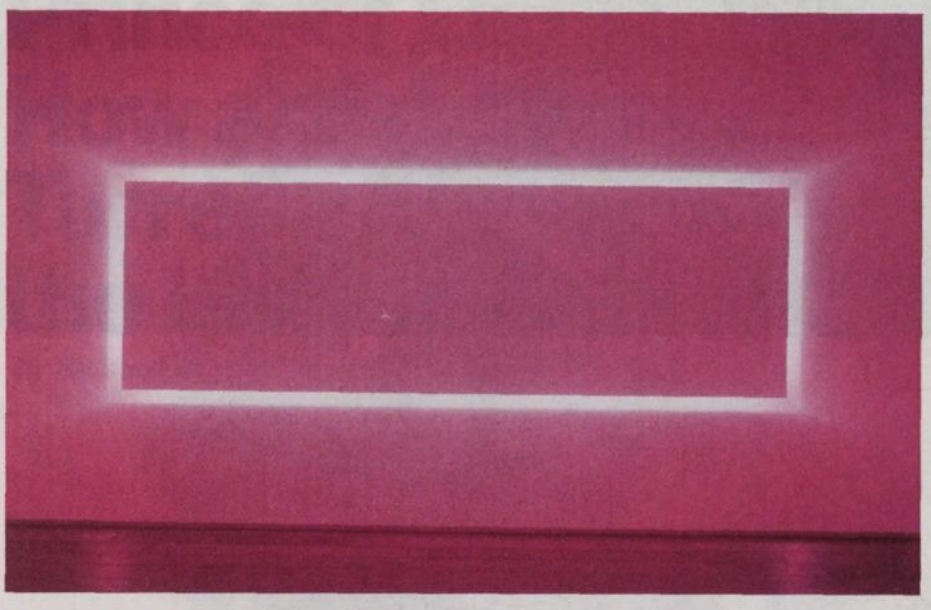
LOS ANGELES COUNTY MUSEUM OF ART
through April 6, 2014

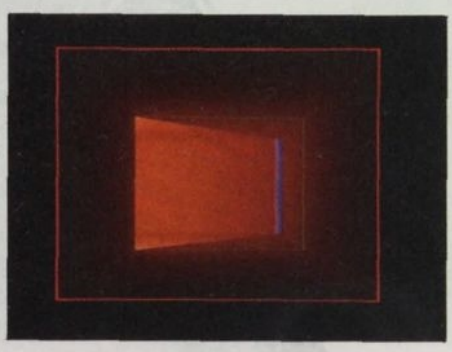
MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, HOUSTON
through Sept. 22

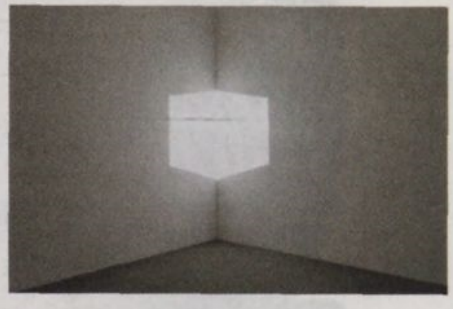
SOLOMON R. GUGGENHEIM MUSEUM, NEW YORK CITY
through Sept. 25

Photograph by Sebastian Kim for TIME









The light fantastic *Clockwise from above,* Raemar Pink White, *1969;* Caper, Salmon to White: Wedgework, *2000;* Afrum (White), *1966*

In his first year at Mendota he made a breakthrough with *Afrum (White),* in which a beam of white light is projected into one corner of a darkened room. As you move around it, the projected image can appear to be a hovering, three-dimensional cube of pure light, a flattened hexagon or just the brightly lit intersection of two very ordinary walls. Which is "real"? All of them and none. It depends on how you look at it. Work like that eventually led to panoramic wall-size pieces like *Raemar Pink White.* Fluorescent lights mounted behind a rectangular panel send a pinkish light all around the panel's edges. The bright perimeter causes the panel to appear to float while it floods the walls surrounding it with a mesmerizing phosphorescence. Later Turrell moved on to beckoning three-dimensional spaces, "wedgeworks," like *Caper, Salmon to White* in the Houston show and *Key Lime* in Los Angeles, in which LED, fluorescent and fiber-optic light create receding corridors and ghostly thresholds. With all this, Turrell aimed to make art in which not just light but perception itself was his medium—the viewer's perception—works that prompt you to examine the very act of seeing as you do it.

Turrell eventually realized that he could bring the sky down to earth for his purposes. In 1974 he designed the first of more than 75 Skyspaces in homes, parks and museums around the world. Though each is different, most are variations on the idea of a windowless pavilion with a square or circular opening in the roof to reveal a stretch of sky. Viewers sit on benches inside, discovering the nuanced atmospherics in the atmosphere. Lights embedded in the walls inflect the sky's palette with shades it wouldn't show to viewers outside, an effect of color contrast. What it all tells you is that even the heavens are what we make of them. Maybe especially the heavens.

Turrell desired still more sky, and to get it he went mountain hunting, also in '74. By that year a handful of artists were pioneering the idea of earthworks, art made with shovels and bulldozers across large landscapes, like Robert Smithson's *Spiral Jetty* in the Great Salt Lake. Turrell wanted to turn a mountain into the ultimate Skyspace, a celestial viewing platform that would hark back to the great ancient megasites like Machu Picchu and the pyramids. An experienced pilot, he spent some 700 hours in the air over seven months, searching for the perfect truncated cone, before he found Roden Crater at the edge of the Painted Desert. By now Turrell has carved three viewing chambers into the mountain, plus associated tunnels, with plans for as many as 20. Within a few years he expects it to be open to the public for visits by dauntless art pilgrims, preferably overnight.

All this talk about pure light may make it seem as though Turrell's output is the last word in Apollonian art—serene and quietly contemplative. You might think that until you've been transported into the techno-hallucination created by *Light Reignfall* from 2011, one of the final works in the Los Angeles show. The one-person-at-a-time viewing environment for the piece is a hollow steel sphere that you enter on your back via a moving bench. Once inside, you find yourself looking up at the smooth spherical interior, where for 10 minutes LED lights project a slowly changing field of solid color that flickering strobe lights agitate. But though nothing more appears on that screen than solid colors punctuated by the stuttering flash, within your eyes—and only there—complex patterns explode, fractals, bars and bubbles that churn in all directions, a result of the strobes disrupting your optical receptors.

As art—as opposed to science project and cognitive roller coaster—*Light Reignfall* doesn't have the beckoning power of Turrell's other work. Maybe silence imprints more deeply than noise. But like an LSD trip, without the wear and tear on precious brain cells, it's a vision that exists exclusively inside your head, a goal Turrell has been aiming at for decades in his work. His fundamental insight, the one that makes him an artist who will last, is that the greatest immensity of all is housed in the modest pavilion that is your brain. ■

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: FLORIAN HOLZHERR; THOMAS DUBROCK; DAVID HEALD—SOLOMON R. GUGGENHEIM FOUNDATION; © JAMES TURRELL (3)

Television

The *Catfish* Came Back.

MTV's series keeps hope—and deception—alive

By Lily Rothman

A LOT CAN HAPPEN WHEN YOU OPEN AN E-MAIL from a stranger. That's how every episode of the MTV docu-series *Catfish: The TV Show* begins: hosts Yaniv "Nev" Schulman and Max Joseph check their inbox and find a message from someone in a shaky online relationship, a virtual romance with a stranger who seems to be hiding something.

During the episode, the two help the e-mailer uncover the truth about their so-called catfish—someone who manufactures part of his or her online persona. The 2010 documentary that spawned the TV show featured Schulman, now 28, unearthing the heartbreaking truth about his own catfish (and hearing the seafood-related story that gave rise to the term).

So Schulman was surprised but not skeptical when, this past January, he opened a text message to learn that the much-discussed dead girlfriend of a college-football star—Notre Dame's Manti Te'o—hadn't really existed. Te'o, it seemed, had been catfished, and the sports world turned to MTV to understand how such a thing was even possible. "For most of America, we're making the Manti Te'o show," Schulman says. "They don't realize that he had a *Catfish* experience."

Though the first season of *Catfish* had been filmed prior to the Te'o revelation, viewership for the episode that aired after the news broke spiked 27% compared with the week before. When *Catfish* returns for its second season on June 25, it will feature the first investigations filmed after the show became a national touchstone, including "hopefuls"—the show would never call them victims—who are familiar with the phenomenon. Which raises a question: Now that catfishing is widely acknowledged, how does it still happen?

"We do sort of joke about it a lot," says Schulman. "How much longer can this show go on?"

The logistical answer, says executive producer Dave Sirulnick, is that the number of people asking for help is on the rise. He would know. MTV intercepts initial requests to ensure that the story fits their rubric and that neither party would be a disaster on camera. "There's a vetting process and a screening process," says Sirulnick. Then MTV makes arrangements so that Schulman and Joseph can hit the road immediately after reading an approved message.

Or maybe the answer goes deeper. "Mystery is the greatest aphrodisiac," Schulman says. Hopefuls tell him of the thrill of the chase, of gambling that their perfect mate might really exist. "The only way [catfishing] happens is if you have 50-50 participation," he notes. That goes for the show too: *Catfish* raised ethical hackles when it debuted, but Schulman points out that nobody *has* to do it. He believes hoaxers agree to appear on camera because it's a safe space; participants also receive stipends to cover lost wages.

The thrill of mystery isn't new. Neither is lying. Catalina Toma, a professor at the University of Wisconsin who studies online dating, has found that deceptions are frequent but subtle: a 2008 study she co-wrote found that 81% lie about their age, weight or height. Big-fraud catfish are outliers. (Schulman gets e-mails from people in healthy online relationships and people who have unmasked their catfish independently, but those folks don't make it onto TV.) Even so, fabrications are about psychology, not technology. "People lie about these things in face-to-face dates. They lied about these things in video dates back in the '80s," Toma says. "I don't necessarily expect those patterns to change."

Neither does Schulman. No matter how many seasons of *Catfish* air, he believes the phenomenon will endure—someone somewhere will open a message from a stranger and decide to take a risk and write back.

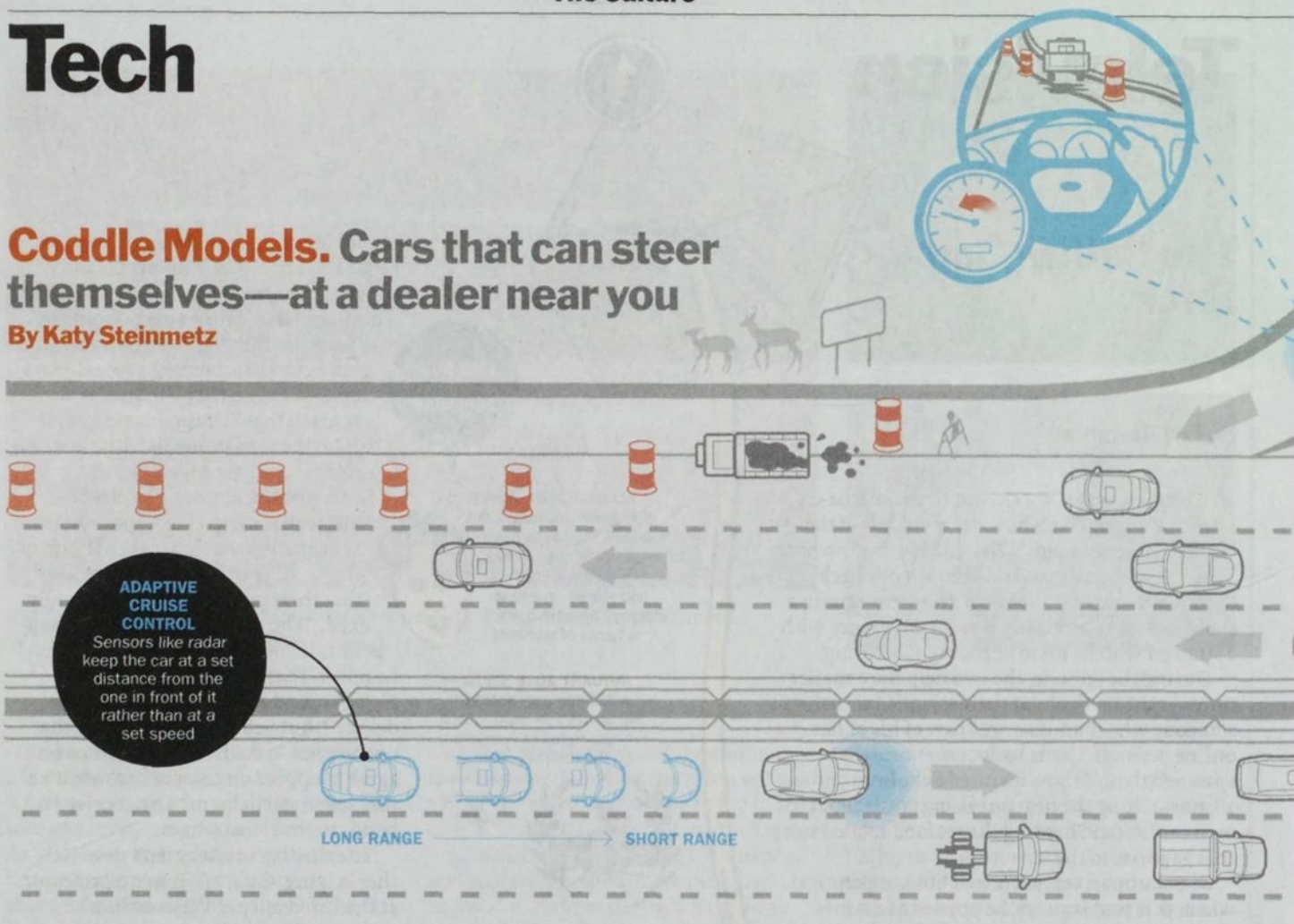
"How much longer can we make this show before people stop falling in love online?" he asks again. "I think people will always be looking to fall in love. People will always hope for things to get better. For better or worse, there will always be people who may or may not look to take advantage of that." ■

ILLUSTRATIONS BY KELSEY DAKE FOR TIME

Tech

Coddle Models. Cars that can steer themselves—at a dealer near you

By Katy Steinmetz



IT'S HARD TO FALL ASLEEP AT THE WHEEL in broad daylight. But I had to play possum if I wanted to witness firsthand how the 2014 Acura RLX is supposed to rescue careless drivers. Like an increasing number of other vehicles on North American roads, the top-of-the-line RLX comes with a so-called lane-keeping aid. Should my eyelids crash and my car start to drift—or should I cross the line without flicking my blinker—the car is designed to intervene. So what does it feel like when your machine takes over?

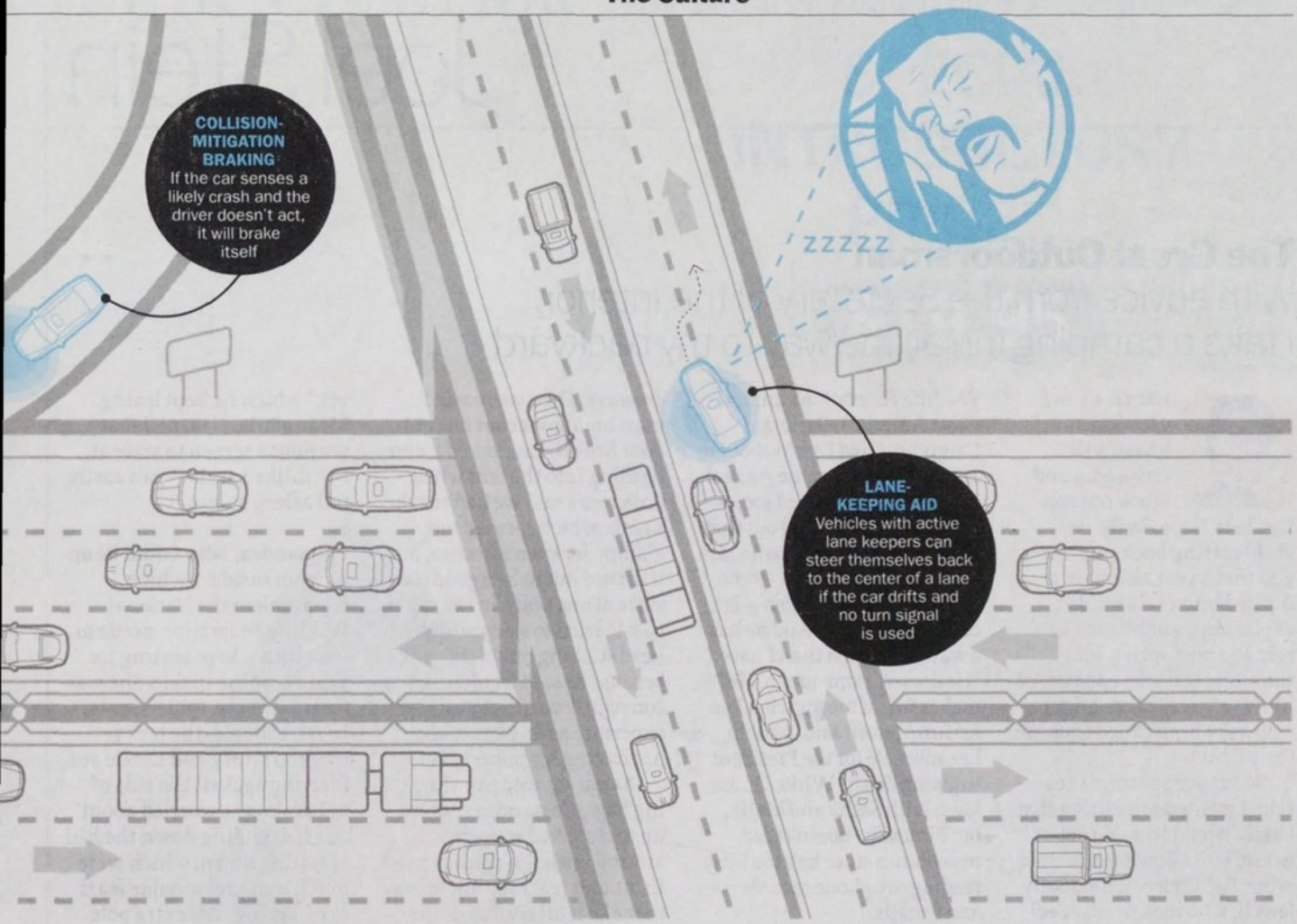
During a weekend test drive in Virginia on Interstate 66, I turned on the cruise control and let my hands droop. The wheel tensed as the sedan sidled toward the fast lane. Warnings began to flash, and when I failed to respond, the RLX stepped in. A camera scanning the road from behind the rearview mirror picked out the lane markings, and using electric power steering, the machine politely guided me back to the center of my lane, without so much as a pinky's input. The correction was easy to override, but letting it happen felt both eerie and reassuring, as if I were a bowling ball gliding off bumpers at a kids' birthday party.

Driverless cars are the future. In the present, manufacturers are racing to coddle and protect drivers with the latest and greatest semiautonomous technology. Mashing data from radars, cameras and ultrasonic sensors, these driver-assist features can steer for us, park for us, brake for us and even let us know if we're about to hit a moose. For years, these contraptions were a realistic option only for big spenders. Today they're trickling down to more affordable models—which means more competition, more innovation and more drivers getting accustomed to cars designed to pick up their slack.

THE $61,000 RLX ALSO HAS SYSTEMS THAT I didn't have the grit to try, like collision-mitigation braking. If the car senses that I'm about to hit something and I don't appear to be doing much about it, the vehicle will brake itself. At lower speeds, auto-braking systems can avoid a crash; at higher speeds, they will just minimize the damage. The current race among manufacturers is to detect the widest array of potential victims. For instance, while Ford plans to auto-brake for other cars in the U.S. by 2015, Volvo is debuting cyclist detection on its 2014 models. Brands priced upwards of $50,000 already promise to mitigate run-ins with other vehicles, bikes, big animals and the child who runs into the street after a ball.

U.S. safety officials, who may soon rule that all new cars be outfitted with collision-mitigation braking, would likely have applauded my hesitation. Road watchdogs and manufacturers are quick to emphasize that these systems are safety nets, not an excuse to start watching Grumpy Cat videos during our commutes. "They're driver support," says David Strickland, head of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, emphasizing that it's the people who are in charge. "Their responsibility is still to drive, both hands on the wheel, both eyes on the road." Once the lane-keeping aid kicked in during my ride, the RLX continued to steer itself—even around soft corners—for about 10 seconds. Then an

ILLUSTRATION BY TODD DETWILER



alarm sounded, telling me to get my mitts on the wheel, and the system shut off.

FORD MAY BE TRAILING THE LUXURY brands in auto-braking, but the company broke a class ceiling when it offered a big driver-assist package with the 2013 Fusion, priced at around $30,000. Randy Visintainer, Ford's director of research, says the company uses off-the-shelf sensors and leverages supplier relationships to "democratize the technology." The bundle includes a lane-keeping aid and adaptive cruise control, which uses radar sensors to maintain a set distance from the car ahead rather than a set speed.

Adaptive cruise control and lane keepers are marketed as features that make driving less of a hassle, though both also have the potential to minimize crashes. The less sexy version of a lane-keeping aid is a lane-departure warning, an alert without any Herbie-like maneuvers that's debuting on models like the 2014 Chevy Impala. Market-research firm Just-Auto estimates that 6% of new cars in North America will have some form of lane assistance this year; that will rocket to nearly 40% within a decade. Adaptive cruise control has a similar penetration now, and analysts estimate about 15% of cars will offer it by 2022. As these tools become more common, Just-Auto analyst Matthew Beecham points out, U.S. insurance companies may start offering related discounts—as insurers do in Europe.

If you're willing to pay more, you can do even less. GM plans to debut a system dubbed Super Cruise on Cadillacs before 2020, which will allow drivers to take their hands off the wheel in certain highway conditions. The 2014 RLX, like other high-end models coming out, offers adaptive cruise control that will bring the car to a full stop and then start it again—meaning the car can essentially manage its own gassing and braking in city traffic or traffic jams. The 2014 Mercedes-Benz S-Class, priced north of $90,000, will have stereo cameras compiling 3-D images of the road, so the suspension can predictively adjust for irregularities on the surface. Among other things, this means we may one day need bigger speed bumps.

Even with the most advanced systems, there are blind spots. Bad weather, faded lane markings and even dirt can muck with the sensors required for driver-assist functions. Researchers are still debating how much safer these systems make the roads—and whether such hand-holding might actually debilitate drivers, leaving them more distractible and less capable. "There's some concern that there might be degradation of skill," says Sue Chrysler, driving-research director at the University of Iowa. Anyone who has ever taught a new driver, she says, knows that pushing buttons is a poor substitute for learning how to physically handle a car.

I experienced the pitfalls of button reliance during my test drive. The RLX braked for me at an intersection. But when the light turned green, nothing happened. Busy enjoying my ride, I forgot I had to re-engage the cruise control after a complete stop. Honking ensued, and I reverted to the sure thing: regular driving. It was a clear reminder that however futuristic these systems may feel, you still can't drive in your sleep. ■

Joel Stein

The Great Outdoorsman

With advice from the Secretary of the Interior, I take a camping trip all the way to my backyard

FOR OUR LAST vacation, my lovely wife Cassandra and I took our son Laszlo to Napa. Sadly, no child-rearing book informs you that 4-year-olds have a limited interest in guided explanations of hillside terroir. His post-spring-break show-and-tell was a picture of him at a winery that might as well have been called Château Only Child.

So for our summer vacation, I wanted something that Laszlo would like and yet would still allow me to drink wine. For advice I called Sally Jewell, who took over as Secretary of the Interior in April. Jewell immediately advocated camping, obviously unaware, despite my having just said my name, that I'm Jewish. Jewell was previously the CEO of REI and has climbed the highest mountain in Antarctica. This was like asking for early-morning wake-up tips from Johnny Knoxville.

Eventually, Jewell figured out who she was dealing with and suggested glamping, which is glamorous camping but much faster to say. I liked the idea until she described her version of a glamp, which was "a cot or an inflatable mattress and a nice, comfy tent." I imagine her idea of non-glamorous camping is punching herself in the face until she falls asleep on a frozen mountain in Antarctica.

I was about to give up on Jewell when she mentioned that June 22 is the National Wildlife Federation's annual Great American Backyard Campout. I told Laszlo about it, and to my surprise, he got really excited. I got excited too, especially when I found out that backyard camping is so badass that President Obama—who killed Osama bin Laden—is unwilling to do it. And he has a way nicer lawn than I have. "He doesn't camp much. He makes fun of me for what I do for fun," Jewell said. I'd help her advocate for the President to glamp on the White House lawn with Sasha and Malia, but I know he doesn't read my column since he's too busy reading my phone records and e-mails.

So I got a tent and three sleeping bags, which was one sleeping bag too many, since Cassandra agreed to participate only in the Great American Backyard part of the Great American Backyard Campout. She was sure, in fact, that Laszlo would be back in his bed within an hour of entering the tent. Which made me determined to do whatever it took to make it through the night. I'm not sure what I thought I would get out of it other than a day of being exhausted and sore, but long ago I learned that marriage isn't about happiness. It's about winning.

I impressed Laszlo by setting up the tent pretty quickly, though there was a pole and a rope left over. I was pretty sure they were for camping farther away from your house. We grilled hamburgers and had leftover mashed sweet potatoes that traveled very well through the hike from the microwave. Then we roasted marshmallows over our outdoor fire pit. Laszlo and I were heading into the tent when Cassandra said we had to take a bath, which seemed too glampy for even my taste, but it turned out to be a good idea since at one point in the night, Laszlo tried to sleep with his head sticking out of the tent because he said it smelled. I'm constantly surprised by how superior Laszlo can act about not having hit puberty yet.

As we got into our sleeping bags, Cassandra showed up and started messing around with the zippers to let in air and rearranging things to make it all civilized-like. Eventually she left, and Laszlo started a game called "Let me check if it's morning yet," which he kept losing. Meanwhile, I learned that without a screen to stare at, I—unlike Laszlo—can easily fall asleep at 8:30.

Cassandra, who could hear us from inside—which is a problem the National Wildlife Federation needs to look into—kept texting me about coming inside. She was worried about spiders, ants, bears, the cold, the tent getting too stuffy and Laszlo suffocating against the side of it. Laszlo was worried about our tent sliding down the hill or falling down, which were much more reasonable fears considering that extra pole still in the box.

At 9:30, Laszlo fell asleep. I was pretty thrilled with the whole experience—seeing our tree-shrouded backyard hill at night, looking up at the stars, being so close to my son, who still twirls his hair to fall asleep like he did in his first week. Then at 6 a.m., Laszlo woke up, ready to do morning backyard stuff, which was something I didn't even know about. It involved collecting sticks, yelling at bad guys and the realization that you don't need puberty for bad breath.

Still, we both loved it. Time stretched out longer, our attention was centered, and technically, he won the "Is it morning yet?" game. More important, I'd risen to Secretary Jewell's challenge and proved Cassandra wrong. Unfortunately, the price of that victory is that Laszlo wants to do it again, this time with all the poles. ■

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10 Questions

Wilco front man Tweedy produced two of Staples' albums after seeing her perform in Chicago

Gospel and blues singer **Mavis Staples** on her hipster fan base, opening for Dr. King and that proposal from Dylan

After six decades in the music business, you've been adopted by hipsters, including Wilco's Jeff Tweedy. What's that like?
It feels great. I got one crowd I call the Tweedy bunch—these young, innocent faces lookin' at you like, What's she gonna bring? And I have all of the Staple Singers fans. And we still get the folk-artist crowd. So we're just all over the map.

In the title track on your new album, *One True Vine*, you sing about being "last in line." What do you mean by that?
I sang with my father [Roebuck "Pops" Staples] for over 50 years. When he passed, I really was lost. I couldn't get up off the couch. I still don't know what key I sing in! I have to tell all my producers, "You have to keep going until I feel comfortable in that key."

So many show-business families implode. Why were the Staple Singers able to stay together?
I really believe it's in the parenting. The Pointer Sisters, the Emotions, the Jackson 5—a lot of families told us we were why they started singing. Joe Jackson used to call my father and ask for information. It sounds to me that he did a lot of things wrong. He'd have those guys rehearsing all day. They couldn't go out to play. I had a childhood. I went to prom.

Wasn't there also a lot of discipline?
Oh yeah. My grandmother gave me switches because I was singing the blues in school when I was 6 years old. She got one of my legs, and every lick she said, "You. Don't. Sing. Blues. In. This. Family. You. Sing. Church. Songs."

How did Pops become friends with Martin Luther King Jr.?
We were in Montgomery, Ala., performing. And we went to Dr. King's church. Afterward Pops talked to Dr. King. And he told us, "I like this man's message. And I think that if he can preach it, we can sing it." So we started writing freedom songs. We joined the movement. We would sing before Dr. King would speak.

Did you realize that you were part of something big?
I was young. But as the time passed, I realized how important these songs were, because I was seeing it.

Is it true Bob Dylan asked your dad if he could marry you?
I don't know if Dylan was serious. We were teenagers. I often think about it. What if I'd married Dylan and we had some little crumb crushers—the Bobby Mavis Singers?

Did you want a family?
I love children. When I got ready to have my family, my husband—you know how it goes—he wanted me to come off the road. I said, "Why would you ask me to do that?" I decided I'd rather him go than stop singing.

Are there any songs that you simply cannot sing again?
I love them all.

Not "The Weight"?
We can't get off the stage without singing "The Weight." How many times have we sang "I'll Take You There"? If you leave without singing it, people will just keep clapping until you do.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

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